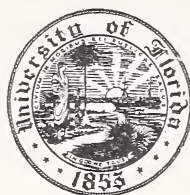



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Warrington Academy

ITS HISTORY AND INFLUENCE

BY
H. McLACHLAN, M.A., D.D.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY

1943

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PREFACE

It may seem superfluous in this year of Our Lord to write at length of a short-lived eighteenth-century nonconformist academy, especially since two authoritative accounts of it have long been known. The first, by William Turner, a student of the Academy 1777-81, appeared in the *Monthly Repository*, 1813, 1814, and included material given to the writer by John Simpson, a student from 1760 to 1765. The second, by Henry Arthur Bright, was contributed to the *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* in 1858, and was reprinted, slightly abbreviated, in the *Christian Reformer* of 1861. This was based on original papers and letters which had belonged to John Seddon, first secretary of the Academy.

In 1931 the writer published a sketch of the Academy in *English Education under The Test Acts: Being the History of the Nonconformist Academies 1662-1820*. Other brief accounts of it have appeared elsewhere, and are noticed in what follows, chiefly for the purpose of correction. In none has the full story been told, or the Academy been considered in relation to its predecessors, whilst nowhere has the attempt been made to trace its remarkable influence down to our own day.

The Seddon papers were rescued from a Liverpool grocer who was using them in the ordinary way of business—presumably to make good a shortage of paper. The story of their discovery was told in 1861 by James Yates, M.A., F.R.S., one-time secretary of the British Association, the son of a Warrington student. "A man, who had bought a lump of butter at a shop in Liverpool, saw the well-known name of 'Heywood' on the paper in which it was enveloped. He showed it to a friend, who was a clerk in the bank of Messrs. Arthur Heywood, Sons, and Co., and who immediately recognized the signature of one of the founders of the bank in the middle of the last century. This discovery led to a further search, and through the prompt exertions of Henry A. Bright, Esq., a descendant of the same Mr. Heywood, a valuable collection of letters relating to the foundation of the Warrington Academy, in which Mr. Heywood had also been a prominent actor, was rescued from destruction." A selection of these letters appeared in the *Christian Reformer*, October, 1854.

Many more Seddon papers have recently come to light, and, in addition, other letters, broadsheets, and Academy Reports, of which no use has hitherto been made.

In 1937 the writer published for private circulation *The Widows' Fund Association (Established 1764) A Historical Sketch*, and made clear for the first time its relation to Warrington Academy.

Research, it is believed, has also revealed the real nature and extent of the influence of the Academy on other existing institutions.

The Rev. J. H. Colligan, a Presbyterian historian, said in 1913 (*The Arian Movement in England*): "It is difficult to do adequate justice to the intellectual labours of the group of tutors that were connected with Warrington Academy. . . . They maintained an academic atmosphere and created a distinct literature in a manner that was unrivalled, except at a university."

In this volume Warrington Academy stands forth as a forerunner of the modern university colleges and universities; as an eighteenth-century centre of scientific and literary activity; and, last but not least, as a citadel of religious and political freedom.

Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Rev. F. Kenworthy, M.A., B.D., for reading proofs, and to Mr. H. M. McKechnie, M.A., for seeing the book through the press, and much else. I am indebted also to The Royal Exchange Assurance, Manchester, for the loan of the blocks of the buildings of Warrington Academy and the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society.

H. McLACHLAN.

May 1943.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

THE TOWN AND ITS NONCONFORMITY

WARRINGTON, the seat of an Academy destined to give the town in the eighteenth century the proud title of the "Athens of the North", can boast an ancient history going back to the Roman occupation of Britain and is probably of British origin.

By reason of its strategic position, the town played a part in the Civil War, and was associated with the rising of Sir George Booth in 1659 and the rebellion of the Young Pretender in 1745. Its markets and fairs were notable centuries earlier, and in 1673 the market was described as important "for linen cloth, corn, cattle, provisions and fish, being much resorted to by the Welshmen".

During the conflict of Crown and Parliament, the town was royalist in sympathy, but the development of its commerce gradually strengthened the Whig and Hanoverian interest. Defoe in 1730 spoke of Warrington as "a large market town . . . on the great road from London leading to Carlisle and Scotland . . . in case of war, a pass of the utmost importance. . . . It is a large, populous old built town, but rich and full of good country tradesmen. . . . Here is particularly a weekly market for linnen . . . a sort of table-linnen, called huk-a-back, or huk-a-bek. . . . As many pieces of this linnen are sold here every market-day as amounts to five hundred pounds value, sometimes more, and all made in the neighbourhood of the place."

Here is a picture of the town as it was in the days of the Academy by John Aikin, M.D., formerly student and lecturer there, drawn within a decade of its dissolution.¹ "The principal part of the town consists of four streets crossing at the centre, one of which runs directly from the bridge, and from its narrowness and mean building, gives an unfavourable idea of the place to a stranger. But some of the other streets are much opener, and contain many good houses interspersed, the usual effect of commercial opulence rising in a place of antiquity. It has the common fault of being most straightened at the centre; a great inconvenience to a town which is one of the principal thoroughfares of the north, being the only entrance from the south to all the north-western part of England, and the busy port of Liverpool. There is no bridge over the Mersey between Warrington and the sea, and none for many

¹ *A Description of the Country from Thirty to Forty miles round Manchester* (1795), pp. 300-8.

miles upwards between it and Manchester. From this circumstance Warrington has always been a post of consequence in the civil commotions of this kingdom, and various actions have taken place on this spot. . . . Warrington has long been of some note as a trading town. In the first part of this century a great quantity of coarse linens and checks was made in the town and neighbourhood, and sold at its markets ; but in later years, the manufacture of sail-cloth, or poldavy, was introduced, and rose to such a height, that half of the heavy sail-cloth used in the navy has been computed to be manufactured here. . . . This manufacture has brought wealth and population to the place. . . .” Aikin then speaks of other manufactures and industries, adding : “ Besides these sources of gain and employment, the great resort of travellers to the town promotes a considerable circulation of money. Its markets are frequented by an extensive and populous circumjacent country. . . . In the year 1781 an enumeration of the houses and inhabitants of Warrington and its vicinity was made. . . . Town and township of Warrington—Houses, 1941 ; Inhabitants, 8791 . . . Warrington may, in some measure, be considered as a port town, the Mersey admitting, by the help of the tide, vessels of seventy or eighty tons burthen, to Bank-quay, a little below the town, where warehouses, cranes, and other conveniences for landing goods are erected. . . . The Mersey naturally is well stored with fish. In the proper seasons large quantities of salmon have been caught in the vicinity of the town. . . . Warrington is well supplied with coals, partly by carriage from the pits at Haydock and its neighbourhood, partly by the Sankey canal, which comes within a mile and a half of the town. The land around Warrington consists of rich meadows bordering on the river, and of pasture and garden ground.” On account of its position on the roads going north, the town was well supplied with Inns—a fact, as it proved, of some peril to students in the Academy.

A few half-timbered houses still remain in the town. The grammar school, whose original building stood till 1862, was founded in 1526, and a blue-coat school dates from 1665. The old court-house connected with the earliest days of Warrington nonconformity, survived until 1865. Its bell, hung in the tower of Trinity church after the demolition of the court-house, bears witness to the character of the seventeenth-century town. Dated 1647, the inscription (Englished) runs : “ The gift of Colonel John Booth governor of the market town of Warrington ”.

Warrington ranks amongst the earliest manufacturing towns in the County of Lancaster. “ It seems natural”, said a modern writer,¹ “ that the first big attempt to give a ‘ business education ’ should have been made in the district most influenced by the eighteenth-century

¹ Irene Parker, *Dissenting Academies in England*, p. 121.

developments of industry." Pleasantly situated on the Mersey, with open country in the vicinity, Warrington was indeed a typical eighteenth-century Lancashire town with manufacturers and tradesmen, such as everywhere in the second half of that century formed the backbone of English nonconformity. The decline and fall of the wealthy and worldly Presbyterians into membership of the Established Church began before the middle of the eighteenth century. Calamy deplored it as early as 1727, and, before the century ended, not a few ministers trained in nonconformist academies were at ease in Zion with comfortable livings. The landed interest in nonconformity was not replaced by a commercial plutocracy until the Industrial Revolution produced bankers, merchants, manufacturers, and shippers, who had been cradled in the circles of Dissent. These were the people, now slowly making their influence felt under the tolerant government of the Hanoverians, for the education of whose sons Warrington Academy was founded.

The Academy was never intended to be a merely local educational institution, and, though the support of Warrington nonconformists was expected and freely given, both financial aid and prospective students were sought far and wide.

Happily the town was by no means ill situated in relation to the larger centres of population, whilst, judged by the standards of those days, its means of transport were fairly ample. From 1757 a stage-coach left Warrington for London twice a week, taking three days and two nights for the journey, and in 1773 a "flying coach" left Manchester at 6.30 a.m. for Liverpool via Warrington three days a week, reaching its destination at nightfall. "From 1774 stage-coaches from Liverpool to London were passing through Warrington twice daily on six days a week; they were met there, on three days, by the coaches that went north through Wigan to Kendal. Stage-coaches left Liverpool for Warrington and returned the same day four times a week, and other coaches from Liverpool or Manchester gave almost daily communication with many of the larger towns of industrial England."¹ In 1761 the Bridgewater Canal was opened, and the journey from Manchester to Chester by the Duke of Bridgewater's "swift packets" occupied twenty-eight hours. In 1774 two daily packet-boats made the journey from Manchester to Warrington. Travelling at this date was almost incredibly difficult. What was involved in a journey to Warrington across country is admirably illustrated in a letter from the Secretary of the Academy, 11 March, 1756, to a tutor-elect, John Aikin, then resident at Kibworth, Leicestershire. Incidentally, it indicates something of the necessary travelling equipment of nonconformist ministers accustomed periodically to exchange of pulpits, and of most men above the rank of yeomen, artisans, or shopkeepers.

¹ T. S. Ashton, *An Eighteenth-Century Industrialist*, p. 86.

Mr. Holland has given us some reason to hope that you will come over to Warrington in the Easter week, in order to take a view of your future situation. I'll suppose you set out from Kibworth on Sunday afternoon. As you intend to travel in post-chaises, you'll easily reach Loughborough or perhaps Derby that night; the next night you may come to Offerton, which is about a mile short of Stockport. . . . You will do well to come prepared for riding, for you will not meet with any carriages at Stockport, nor are the roads to Warrington proper for them; when you get to a place called Bullocks Smithy,¹ about two miles short of Stockport, enquire for Offerton. . . . If you'll write to me time enough, & be particular in your time, I will endeavour to meet you with my own chaise, or send a servant for that purpose.

Lucy Aikin, granddaughter of the tutor thus addressed, writing in December, 1784, of a journey from Warrington, says: ²

The earliest event which dwells in my recollection was a journey. In those days it was indeed an event. I had just completed my third year, when my father decided on a removal from Warrington to Yarmouth, in Norfolk. My grandmother, her maid, my little brother, and myself, were packed in a post-chaise; my father accompanied us on horseback. It was Christmas week, the snow deep on the ground; the whole distance was two hundred and forty miles across the country, and we were six days in accomplishing it. The last night we arrived at my aunt's, Mrs. Barbauld's, house at Palgrave, where my grandmother remained behind; she died in a few days of the cold and fatigue of the journey.

So much for the Town, its situation, pursuits and amenities.

Warrington had been for long one of the strongholds of northern nonconformity. During the Commonwealth period, Presbyterianism had taken root in Lancashire as nowhere else outside London. By the Ordinance, 2 October, 1646, the County was partitioned into nine classical districts, and in May of the same year these were required to form one Province. Meetings of the Assembly, 1648-69, were frequently held at Preston, twice at Wigan and Bolton respectively, and once at Blackburn, but, so far as the extant records show, never at Warrington. As early as September, 1650, Presbyterianism had been shorn of some of its power by the Ordinance of Toleration, and at the Restoration the Provincial Assembly with its subordinate Classes perished. Nonconformity survived. Indeed in Lancashire it did not suffer unduly, for a reason made clear by Mr. Ernest Axon.³ "The prevalence of unendowed chapels differentiated the ecclesiastical system of Lancashire from that of most of the counties of England, and was one of the predisposing causes of the strong Puritanism and nonconformity of the county. . . . The men who occupied them during the Commonwealth were technically ejected, but, except during the period of persecution prompted from above, the nonconformists were allowed to use the chapels, principally because they were so valueless that clergymen could not be found to

¹ Now Hazel Grove.

² *Memories, Miscellanies and Letters of Lucy Aikin*, ed. P. H. Le Breton, p. x.

³ "Nonconformity in Lancs. during the 17th century," art. in *Trans. of Lancs. and Cheshire Antiq. Soc.*, xxxv (1918).

take them. The use of the chapels as meeting-houses gave the non-conformists a permanency which saw them through the persecution and early toleration period, and when from about 1695 to 1721 they lost one by one the ancient chapels they were strong enough to build chapels of their own or to maintain them with the assistance of grants from the Presbyterian Fund or the Congregational Fund."

At Warrington, no such chapel was there to be occupied by non-conformists, but an ancestor of the first President of the Academy it was "whose influence in the county was undoubtedly responsible for the extraordinary slackness of the Church authorities in dealing with the impudent appropriation of the ancient chapels of the county by the nonconformists".

The revived Provincial Meeting of Ministers, formed at Bolton in 1693, represented the acceptance by Lancashire nonconformists of the Heads of Agreement, 1691, between Independents and Presbyterians in London celebrated by the sermon of Matthew Mead entitled "Two Sticks Made One". "It differed from the extinct Provincial Synod or Assembly, and from all courts of the Presbyterian order, in that (1) it admitted none but ministers; and, (2) apparently closed its doors to no ministers in the county ordained, and protected by the Toleration Act, who chose to attend its deliberations. . . . It differed also from the Presbyterian Assembly in that, though it took up questions of morals and doctrine, it advised only, and did not endeavour to coerce. It does not even appear that subscription to the Heads of Agreement was required on admission as a member of the Lancashire Meeting, as it certainly was in Cheshire." ¹

Warrington was one of the districts into which the County was divided. Its Minutes from 1719 to 1722 survive, and references to its activities in the records of another society ² to which it gave birth, together with others also in the Minutes of the Cheshire Classis. For many years prior to 1776 Warrington was the regular place of meeting.

The evolution of the rigid Presbyterian body which resulted in a Meeting of liberal ministers, mostly Arian, and later, Socinian in doctrine, and the part played in this development by the academies, the Scottish and foreign universities has been made plain by Miss Griffiths.³ Here it must suffice to state that after the Salters' Hall controversy of 1719, "In process of time, the old denominational names seem almost to have changed places. Independent, which under the Commonwealth had stood for toleration and variety, now came to mean theological conservatism. Presbyterianism, which, theologically speaking, had meant doctrinal consensus, now stood for latitude." ⁴

¹ *Report of the Laws and Usages of the Provincial Assembly*, p. 3.

² The Widows' Fund Association. ³ *Religion and Learning* . . . (1938).

⁴ Alex. Gordon, *Historical Account of Dukinfield Chapel*, p. 47.

The connection of the Academy with the Meeting was of moment to both. The presence of the Young Pretender had led some of the members of the Meeting to engage in active political propaganda. A few went further and entered the field of battle. Consequently towards the middle of the century the Provincial Meeting lost much of its interest in purely religious matters. Men like James Wood, of Chowbent, and Josiah Owen, of Rochdale, nephew of the Warrington minister, who had rendered conspicuous service with sword and pen to the Hanoverian cause of religious and political liberty, were well content to tilt at Pope and Pretender, Tories and Episcopalians, hear a sermon, not too heart-searching, and enjoy a good dinner graced with wit and genial gossip. Presbyterian discipline and pietistic practices they found irksome. The entrance of the tutors of the Academy into the Meeting introduced men cast in a more serious mould, and a revival of interest in matters spiritual followed. This was shown by the ordination of four ministers, including a Tutor, at the Warrington Meeting of 1762. It was the first Meeting Joseph Priestley could attend, and it is clear from his correspondence that he was only admitted on condition of being ordained. He, for his part, after seven years in the ministry, was willing to undergo ordination with students of the Academy, as "a point of prudence" since he contemplated matrimony, and desired to regularize his position in case he had "to have recourse to the ministry again". Much later, in his Memoirs, he says simply that "wishing to keep up the character of a Dissenting minister, I chose to be ordained". The ordination of Priestley by the Meeting had the approval of John Aikin, then head of the Academy.

Through its tutors and *alumni*, the Academy contributed much to the Meeting, and received something in return. The sermon preached by Philip Holland before the Meeting in Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, 21 May, 1760, was frankly in the nature of propaganda in behalf of the Academy. The subject was "The Importance of Learning", and the text was taken from *Acts* vii. 22, "And Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in words and deeds." After commending various subjects which the preacher knew to be included in the curriculum of the Academy, he continued: "There are few here who need to be informed of a design lately entered upon in this neighbourhood for the liberal education of youth, and of the encouragement which it has received . . . a scheme designed, not to serve a particular party, not to promote any peculiar and distinguishing notions; but to propagate sound learning, to extend real, useful knowledge, and to lead to the security of all our private and public blessings. . . . I will venture to recommend it to your attention for its own sake, as designed to serve the general interests of mankind; and to promote truth, virtue and happiness." No wonder it was resolved by the trustees of the Academy that the sermon should be printed and circulated at their expense.

Tutors and ex-students who preached before the Provincial Meeting during the life of the Academy include Thomas Astley (1766), William Enfield (1768), Nicholas Clayton (1769), John Palmer (1778) and Ralph Harrison (1780). The last recorded instance of ordination by the Provincial Meeting was at Warrington, 18 June, 1782, when three men were ordained. Dr. Clayton delivered the discourse on the nature of ordination, and Dr. Enfield gave the charge—both tutors of the Academy.

Old students settled in the County Palatine became in due course members of the Meeting. The secretary of the Academy from its establishment until his death, and for some years a member of the staff and Rector *Academiae*, was a leading member of the Provincial Meeting. He was the fourth minister only in succession to Robert Yates, the ejected rector of Warrington.¹

We do not know the exact date of the origin of the dissenting congregation in Warrington, probably not long after the ejection of 1662, though Yates and his friends seem to have been reluctant to break their association with the Church. When, ten years later, licences for preaching were granted to nonconformist ministers, Dr. Nicholas Butler, who had charge of the issue, thought the licensed men should be those who had "a people", that is, a congregation, and was rather reluctant to grant them to those who had not.² Probably there were groups of men and women who had followed Yates out of the parish church and continued furtively their worship with him as minister.

Under the Declaration of Indulgence, 1672, the house of Robert Yates, amongst others, was licensed (25 July) for worship. The word "house" may not mean "dwelling-house", as it was then used in the sense of tenement, as we still speak of a warehouse or an outhouse, and "as a matter of fact some of those that were licensed as houses were barns, and some others were factories or warehouses." Whatever it may have meant at Warrington, on September 5th, the Court House was licensed, suggesting that Yates' congregation was too numerous to be accommodated in his "house". The original licence of "a room or roomes in the Court House", one of a very small number of existing indulgence licences, is now in the possession of the Warrington congregation. It is dated "30th day of September", signed by "Arlington", and is for "the use of Such as do not conform to the Church of England, who are of the Perswasion commonly called Presbyterian". The licensing of the Court House is rather remarkable. Nonconformists in the seventeenth century for good reasons avoided publicity, and their urban meeting-houses built towards the end of the century were generally

¹ For Robert Yates, see art. by F. Nicholson and E. Axon, *Trans. of Lancs. and Chesh. Antiq. Soc.*, vol. xxxii (1913).

² Alex. Gordon, arts., "The Presbyterian Separation" in *The Inquirer*, January 13, 20, 1923.

erected in back streets to escape the unwelcome attentions of high-spirited mobs manifesting their zeal for "Church and King". Moreover, under the Indulgence of 1672 public buildings were not commonly licensed for worship by the authorities.

In 1673, when the Indulgence of Charles II was withdrawn, Robert Yates sent his son Samuel to Frankland's Academy to train for the ministry—an act of faith in the future of the nonconformist ministry. Five years later, Samuel Yates, having graduated M.A. at Edinburgh a year earlier, succeeded his father at Warrington.

Father and son had suffered at the hands of those in power. Robert Yates was imprisoned 1662–3 for "supposed complicity in the Farnley Wood plot",¹ and Samuel "excommunicated for preaching, 1677."²

Such were the men by whom the foundations of nonconformity in Warrington were well and truly laid. Their flock did not go scot-free. Amongst those presented in the Bishop's Court for neglect of episcopal services or of the Sacrament during the last quarter of the seventeenth century were many whose families and descendants were the pillars of Presbyterianism in the town during the century that followed. Samuel Yates was succeeded by Peter Aspinwall, an Oxford graduate and son of a clergyman. He had been licensed as a Presbyterian at Ashton-in-Makerfield, 16 May, 1672. On 23 July, 1689, "Eccleston Barn" in the parish of Warrington was certified as a place of worship. Alexander Gordon described it³ as the house of Lawrence Eccleston. Possibly it was adjacent thereto. In 1690, Aspinwall's congregation is said to have been "3 or 400 hearers. . . . He requires no Sallery, has an Estate and preaches freely."⁴ He died in June, 1696. He was followed by a valiant Dissenter and a Welshman. His grandfather had fought for Charles I, and his parents were episcopalians, but their nine children turned nonconformists. He served the Warrington congregation for half a century, and his influence as a publicist and his example as a tutor were assuredly not lost upon his immediate successor, the virtual founder of Warrington Academy.

Charles Owen was a younger brother of James Owen, a sturdy defender of Dissent, and an erudite tutor at Oswestry and Shrewsbury. Charles had been a pupil under John Ker, M.D., of Bethnal Green, and, after completing his studies, became assistant to his brother, and from Oswestry removed to Warrington. In October, 1697, his house was registered for worship, and a chapel in the following year. "The land upon which the Chapel, and subsequently the Chapel House stood, had been purchased in the name of Charles Owen, and were thus held until 1736."⁵ The Trust Deed then prepared contained no doctrinal statement. The

¹ A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, *sub voce*.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Freedom After Ejection*, p. 205.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ A. Mounfield, *Early Warrington Nonconformity*, p. 101.

chapel was erected for the minister "to preach the Word of God, to pray in, and administer the Sacraments". One of the Communion Cups, "A Gift to the Protestant Dissenting Chapel, Warrington", is dated 1735,¹ and "another is of almost identical pattern and workmanship, with date letter and marks indistinct".

Builders of chapels erected after the Toleration Act on the so-called "Open Trust" were not making provision for the possible development of heterodoxy in coming years, as once was thought. That seemed sufficiently guarded against by the subscription of the minister to Articles of the Church of England and the licensing of the chapel by civil or ecclesiastical authorities. The nonconformist fathers builded better than they knew. It is not quite certain that was so with Owen at Warrington, in view of his opinions, religious and political. Undoubtedly he was Presbyterian in hardly anything but name if that word connoted sympathy either with the Presbyterians who rose under Sir George Booth in 1659 to further the return of the Stuart, and soon afterwards welcomed the Merry Monarch with open arms, or with the intolerance of those (including Robert Yates) who subscribed the Harmonious Consent of the Ministers of the Province, 3 March, 1647-8, than which, said Dr. Halley : ² "On the subject of Toleration nothing more horrible was ever put upon paper by religionists of any sort".

The second existing chapel at Warrington was begun in 1745. Owen probably lived to see it erected, dying, as he did, 17 February, 1746. It contains a monument to the memory of a youth who died whilst a student in the Academy, another to a tutor (John Aikin, D.D.), who served it for twenty-three years, and a chair formerly the property of his son, a lecturer in the Academy. In the graveyard lie buried three of the tutors of the Academy, and rails, formerly belonging to the Academy, surround part of the graveyard. In 1860 the interior of the chapel was remodelled, and the three-decker pulpit affixed to the wall was removed, together with the gallery which originally ran round the building.

Many advantages accrued to the Academy from its association, real though informal, with the old meeting-house, not the least being that two ministers of the chapel became Rectors of the Academy.

Charles Owen was Moderator of the Warrington Classis in 1719, and preached before it, 8 November, 1721, but he was even more intimately associated with the Cheshire Classis, of which he was Moderator no fewer than nine times between 1717 and 1737. In 1728 he attended the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, when John Simson, divinity professor at Glasgow, was on trial for heresy. On Sunday, 12 May, he preached at Tron Church, Edinburgh, and from Woodrow's

¹ G. Eyre Evans, *Vestiges of Protestant Dissent*, pp. 250-1.

² *Lancashire : Its Puritanism and Its Nonconformity*, i, 468-9.

Correspondence we learn that the sermon was short, "not three-quarter's", and given from short notes held in his hand. On November 8th that year he was awarded the degree of D.D. by Edinburgh University, probably for his *Wonders of Redeeming Love*, which was reprinted in 1830. "The action of the University in conferring its diplomas upon four non-subscribers, including Owen, was viewed as a protest against the suspension of Simson."¹ Owen conducted a small academy of considerable repute, which was suspended for a time owing to the Schism Act, but resumed later. Little is known of its curriculum, but amongst subjects taught was Moral Philosophy, for which More's *Enchiridion* was the text-book. Jonathan Woodworth, who proceeded to Glasgow in 1714 and graduated M.A. 1715, Samuel Nicholson who went to Glasgow, Kendal Academy, Edinburgh, and Leyden, where he graduated M.D., and Job Orton, who studied at Northampton and afterwards assisted Doddridge, were amongst his pupils.

Owen was a strong advocate of extemporaneous preaching, a stout Dissenter, and, in politics, a sturdy supporter of the Hanoverians. He was a prolific writer, and the author of sermons, tracts, dissenting and political, and religious works. His *Plain Dealing* 1715, a fearless defence of nonconformity, was "the subject of an indictment, and though no conviction followed, he was mulcted in heavy expenses. Most of his subsequent political publications were anonymous."² Amongst his works which attracted much notice was *A Natural History of Serpents*. With all his activities he maintained a large congregation. According to the Evans MSS. during the period 1717-29 it numbered "713 persons, of whom 82 were freeholders". If these figures are only approximately correct it must have been one of the largest congregations in the county.

His nephew and former pupil, Josiah Owen, preaching his funeral sermon, asked: "Where is the mine of philosophy which he had not dug? In what regions shall we find a language to which he was a stranger?"

These extraordinary questions at least suggest that to one who knew him intimately Charles Owen was no common scholar, not less than he was unquestionably a man of affairs and a successful and influential dissenting minister. Such was the man whom a young man of 21 was called to succeed. Ordained on his twenty-second birthday in the chapel at Warrington, John Seddon began there his one and only ministry of twenty-three years.

¹ *D.N.B.*, s.v. Simson, John.

² *s.v.* *D.N.B.*, art. by Alex. Gordon.

CHAPTER II

WARRINGTON ACADEMY

ITS FOUNDATION, CHARACTER, AND AIMS

WITHIN little more than a quarter of a century preceding the foundation of Warrington Academy a number of private academies in the north of England had closed their doors: Whitehaven-Bolton, 1729, Attercliffe (Sheffield), 1734, Kendal, 1753, and Findern (Derbyshire), 1754. Of these, three had been notorious for the liberal theological opinions of their tutors, whilst Attercliffe under its last tutor had been similarly suspect. Hence soon after the middle of the eighteenth century it appeared that the future of liberal theology in nonconformity was imperilled.

Moreover, the time seemed ripe for a new venture on a more ambitious plan, befitting the felt needs of the time. The first "Proposals" issued on the subject declared: "It is now become a general and just Complaint that some Publick Provision is wanted for the education of young gentlemen, designed either for the learned professions or for Business . . . a Publick Academy conducted by a Number of Tutors . . ."

As surely as the hour had struck it brought with it the man to meet its demands.

Ten years after John Seddon's ministry began, four of which he spent in propaganda for the purpose, the Academy was founded.¹ To him, if to any single man, belongs the honour of its foundation. Thomas Bentley told him (16 March, 1762): "The Academy owes much, almost everything, to your care", and an old student of Warrington afterwards declared: "The Academy was his favourite child." Its maintenance was his constant concern for the rest of his life, and for its sake he declined two invitations to leave Warrington for other congregations. In many ways the Academy may be said to have owed even more to him than to any of its distinguished tutors, with the possible exception of John Aikin, D.D.

John Seddon (1726-70) was a son of Peter Seddon, M.A., dissenting minister of Hereford. He had been educated under Dr. Caleb Rotherham at Kendal Academy, and at Glasgow University, where he was much influenced by Hutcheson and Leechman. He married, in the year the Academy opened, Sarah Hoskins, daughter of a deceased equerry to Frederick, Prince of Wales. She had some means, was an adoring helpmeet, and proved serviceable in the care of sick students, but, amongst her accomplishments, the lady did not include a mastery of English orthography. The Seddons had no family.

¹ For conspectus of courses and staff, *see* pp. 41-2.

It was probably Seddon's residence at Warrington that finally settled the dispute between Liverpool and Manchester supporters of the new enterprise as to its site, not merely because Warrington was approximately half-way between the two rival towns, but also because John Seddon was the one man above all others bent on its foundation and ready to make sacrifices in its behalf.

In manner, Seddon was affable and courteous, able to inspire colleagues with confidence in his judgment, though in the early days of the Academy he exhibited little tact in handling a senior afflicted with a superiority complex.

As a preacher, he was acceptable to a loyal congregation. Thomas Percival described him as "a scholar, preacher, and companion almost without an equal", but this is a *post-mortem* eulogy by one who had been his private pupil before becoming the first student to enter the Academy, and remained his steadfast friend. A somewhat different view of his preaching is given by Bright: "My father, after being taken as a boy to hear Mr. Seddon, excused himself for not bringing his father the notes of the sermon which he was always required to make, because, he said, with all the attention he could pay, he could not make out what it was about. 'Nor I either,' was the answer." When, fifty-six years after Seddon's death, his sermons came into the possession of Dr. William Shepherd, schoolmaster and minister at Gateacre 1791-1847, who, though ready in debate, never made a sermon if he could avoid it, they were described by him as "distinct and valuable". Presumably they were not so distinctive in doctrine as to clash with other sermons used by Shepherd and the few he was compelled to compose himself. Doubtless, like Arian sermons generally, they were ethical in character, with a dash of liberalism, political and theological, gleaned from such periodicals as *Cato's Letters*; *Or Essays on Liberty Civil and Religious* (4 vols. 1754), known to be in Seddon's library,¹ which would render them "valuable" to a political parson like Shepherd. But, be Seddon's preaching what it might, he was famous for his perfect elocution, and commended for his "piety and benevolence".

As Secretary of the Academy, he was painstaking and diligent, but, as Lucy Aikin said, "did not scruple some stout puffing" in its behalf. As Tutor, he was rather vain of learning neither very extensive nor very deep, yet happily able to make a little go a long way. His letters, lectures, and minutes disclose a ponderous style of writing, unrelieved by any gleams of humour, and when he hit upon a phrase which pleased him he repeated it *ad nauseam*. In relation to the Academy, Seddon was a sort of Pooh-Bah, "Lord High Everything Else". His influence in shaping the policy of the Academy was partly due to his position as liaison officer between the Committee of Management and the tutors, and, as Secretary,

¹ Now in the Library of the Unitarian College, Manchester.

even before he became a tutor and Rector *Academiæ*, he attended the meetings of Tutors, and all academic business passed through his hands. As librarian, he had charge and control of the books. He was also "Head of a House", with whom students lived, was pastor and friend of many of them, and always in close touch with their parents and guardians. It may fairly be said that, in all his academic offices, Seddon tried to live up to the motto on his coat of arms, "*Nec temere, nec timide*".

Seddon's energies were by no means exhausted by the claims of the Academy. He was one of the main founders (1758) of the Warrington Public Library, of which he was the first president, and of the Widows' Fund Association (1764),¹ of which he was the first secretary, and he took a leading part in the deliberations of the Provincial Meeting of Ministers.

Thanks largely to Seddon, a subscription list of £470 a year was raised for the Academy, together with donations amounting to a little less than £150.

When every allowance is made for differences in money values then and now, it must be confessed that it was "a day of small things".

The upper middle classes, to which Seddon mostly appealed, in their struggles to emerge from political and commercial obscurity, had obviously learnt to practise caution, but not so plainly that "it is better to give than to receive". Personal extravagance was found easier to cultivate than disinterested generosity—a fact which was to bear hardly upon those responsible for young students with excessive allowances from home. These men, too, of the day-book and ledger, accustomed to casting balances respecting things tangible, did not reckon that education of a public character, even when relating to the material not less than to the spiritual, could not, like commerce, agriculture, banking, and shipping, be made to pay in pounds, shillings, and pence. The few landowning squires whose sons found their way to Warrington were its patrons only in name, and their offspring proceeded in due course to one of the old universities, and eventually became respectable members of the church by law established. For them the Academy was at most little more than an excellent and economical substitute for private tuition or the schools where nonconformist youths were unwelcome. Neither to the business and professional men nor to those who esteemed themselves their betters was it given to see, as it was to the founders of university colleges in the nineteenth century, that without endowments the Academy was being built on shifting sands. As Priestley told his friend Theophilus Lindsey (17 May, 1786), speaking of the Academy shortly before it was dissolved: "There is a great prejudice against the idea of a large fund, which seldom answers the purpose of the founders."

On 30 June, 1757, the first meeting of the trustees of the Academy

¹ See pp. 107-14.

was held at Warrington, with twenty-five present, representing Birmingham, Liverpool, Chester, Manchester, etc., and Seddon's congregation. Unanimous resolutions were passed; Seddon of course appointed Secretary and a Liverpool gentleman Treasurer; tutors were decided upon—three for the present, four for the future; a committee of management was set up, and other necessary business transacted, relating to the housing of the Academy and staff, and the discipline of the students.

Shortly afterwards a President was secured in the person of Hugh, 15th Baron of Parham (1714–65), a former student of Taunton Academy. He was "the representative of the last of the Presbyterian noble families",¹ though it appeared by a decision of the House of Lords after his death that he had had no right to the peerage. He was a man of fine presence, over six feet in height, a great personage, a bachelor, friendly with several dissenting divines and related to one, John Brownlow, of Park Lane, Wigan, and connected with various learned societies—President of the Society of Antiquaries, Vice-President of the Royal Society, Vice-President of the Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts, a Trustee of the British Museum, one of the Commissioners of Longitude—and what not. Seddon's invitation to him to honour the Academy with his name was couched in the conventional obsequious terms of the period:

Our gentlemen seemed very desirous to avail themselves of your Lordship's name at the head of the design. They think it will give them an importance they cannot otherwise have, and beg leave to hope your Lordship will excuse the liberty they have taken . . .

He proved no great catch. The first President apparently never attended a meeting of the trustees, and discharged his obligations to the Academy with a subscription. When he died, 17 January, 1765, no minute of trustees expressed their sense of the loss the institution had sustained.

In Rivington Chapel, near Bolton, an inscribed plate marks his massive pew, and a gigantic coffin-shaped tablet, reaching from floor to roof, on the right of the pulpit, commemorates the piety and politics of the family from the seventeenth century, and, in particular, the virtues and activities of the Right Honourable Hugh. On his death, the peerage went to the rightful heir, Henry, who died in 1775, and was succeeded by his nephew George, the last of the line. He was educated at Warrington (entered 1767) and died in 1779.

The two Presidents who followed were somewhat less ornamental and influential, but much more serviceable. The President from 1765 to 1775 was John Lees, Esq., of Manchester, who, on inheriting property by his second marriage in 1765, assumed the name of John Carill Worsley. He was succeeded in 1776 by Sir Henry Hoghton, Bart., F.R.S., of

¹ *D.N.B.*, s.v. S. Bourne, art. by Alex. Gordon.

Hoghton Tower, the descendant of seventeenth-century nonconformists who kept their own chaplains. He was M.P. for Preston 1768-95, and the acknowledged leader of nonconformity in the House. He remained in office until the Academy was dissolved.

The Treasurer of the Academy was Arthur Heywood, great-grandson of Nathaniel Heywood, the brother of Oliver Heywood, a famous nonconformist divine. Heywood was a banker, but for some reason or other never interested himself in securing that subscribers to the Academy received even an occasional balance-sheet. Possibly he thought its appearance would do him no credit as a financier.

He held office from first to last, sent his sons to the Academy, and attended meetings of the trustees fairly regularly until the financial situation became desperate.

Warrington Academy was one in a long succession of nonconformist academies going back almost to the Ejection of 1662 and the beginnings of English Dissent. These were all designed to provide higher education for Dissenters excluded from the English universities, and, in particular, to maintain the supply of nonconformist ministers.

The Throckmorton Trotman Trust, founded by the will of an Independent in 1664, provided *inter alia* "for the education of poor scollers at the Universities", and, "from the beginning the Trustees interpreted Universities as including Nonconformist Academies".¹ What the academies sought to impart to their pupils was not infrequently called "university learning". It came little short of it, and went almost far enough to warrant the name of "university" sometimes bestowed upon their *alma mater* by proud and grateful *alumni*. It even justified, in some measure, the wigs and gowns worn, after the most approved university fashion, by most students in eighteenth-century academies. This being said, it may be added that Warrington Academy "cared for none of these things", save the "learning", and that by no means of the orthodox university pattern.

In the earlier academies, tutors were content to provide a classical and scholastic education which differed only in its more liberal interpretation from that of the ancient universities. The reason is not far to seek. "The first generation of these great teachers, the men ejected in 1662, were university men of high academic attainment. Of necessity they never lost touch with the classical and theological training of their youth."² What was true of the fathers was true, also, in a less degree of the sons whom they trained to follow in their steps. But "the next generation was influenced by a movement the essence of which was intellectual freedom. This movement is reflected in the Dissenting Academies—in their feverish zeal for physical and chemical study as

¹ Albert Peel, *The Throckmorton Trotman Trust, 1664-1941*, pp. 6, 16.

² W. A. Shaw, "Dissenting Academies," *Encycl. of Education*.

well as their actual tendency towards Unitarian thought.”¹ Thus it was that modern studies were brought “into a new and isolated branch of education in England”, and by the end of the seventeenth century nonconformists “had made considerable headway in introducing a wider curriculum of modern subjects. Their curriculum had indeed the fault of being too wide and superficial, but in the eighteenth century it was to provide a training for some of the first scientists and philosophers in Europe.”²

Warrington Academy differed fundamentally from its predecessors in constitution, character, and, hardly less, in curriculum, methods, and ideals. For this reason, despite a shorter life than most academies and a singular failure to win any large measure of support, its activities remain of interest and importance equally to historians of education and lovers of liberty.

The Academy, in Seddon’s words, was “to further the progress of true religion and religious liberty; as the purest and most rational notions of the one, and the extensive and catholic ideas of the other would undoubtedly be encouraged in every proper method”. A still wider view of the “Design” is outlined in a circular published 11 July, 1754:

It is well calculated for those that are to be engag’d in a Commercial Life, as well as the Learned Professions; to give them some Knowledge of the more useful Branches of Literature; and to lead them to an early Acquaintance with, and just concern for, the true Principles of Religion and Liberty, of which great interests they must in future life be the Supporters.

The influence of the Academy, as will appear,³ was not limited to the brief period of its existence, nor even to the lives and labours of its students, many of them men of distinction who have been given their rightful place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Unlike the seminaries established by ejected ministers and their immediate successors, Warrington Academy was not a private venture, dependent for its teaching, in the main, upon a single man, usually a minister not wholly free for academical work; nor, for its continuance, upon another similar tutor taking over his pupils after death. The Academy was under no necessity to resort periodically to migration as the result, before the Toleration Act, of persecution, or, after it, of the acceptance by the tutor of a call to another pulpit. Seddon, in a letter to a friend (22 April, 1751), enumerated “the much superior advantages” the plan of the Academy offered “than could be had under the single direction of a private tutor”.

Warrington was not an academy of another type, founded, or supported

¹ W. A. Shaw, “Dissenting Academies,” *Encycl. of Education*.

² G. N. Clark, *The Seventeenth Century*, p. 296.

³ Pp. 107-44.

and largely controlled, especially in respect of doctrinal teaching, by outside Funds which, though often possessed of ample means, had other calls upon their benevolence, having been founded for the more general maintenance of nonconformist worship. Certainly aid to students, if not to tutors, from the more liberal funds, like the Presbyterian Fund, or the Lady Hewley Fund, was counted upon from the first, and, in the event, was not wanting, but such funds exercised no authority over the actual work of the Academy.

Warrington Academy was established as an independent academical institution. It enjoyed no charter or state support, but, like the private academies after 1689, it was also free from state control, and, unlike Northampton and others, was born too late to suffer from ecclesiastical interference, or from political reaction such as was expressed in the Schism Act, which temporarily closed the doors of many academies. It had, as we have seen, its own trustees, subscribers, and management committee, and was the earliest and most important example of the institutional type of academy.

No previous academy was so œcumenical in character. Students, though never numerous, came from every part of the British Isles, from the West Indies, and the American colonies. They included a few sons of titled persons, and many more of commercial magnates, professional men, tradesmen, and impoverished dissenting divines. Never previously in nonconformist seminaries, nor in English universities since the Middle Ages, had there been such a mingling of student types as were assembled from time to time at Warrington.

Unlike many of the private evangelical academies, which found the qualification for admission largely in the religious "experience" and orthodox doctrine of candidates, and, equally, unlike the Welsh academies, which recruited pupils from monoglot country districts and taught them in English, Warrington Academy did not suffer excessively from the inability of students to take full advantage of the training provided. Not a few youths came from homes where their early education had been excellent. The Academy had connections also with schools ably conducted by Presbyterian ministers. Philip Holland at Bolton taught Latin, Greek, French, Chemistry, and Natural Philosophy, and his assistant taught Orthography and Art. "He frequently exercised his scholars in rendering back into the original tongue what they had translated into English, which was then carefully compared with the French or Latin author, and corrected accordingly."¹ Many of his pupils, including William Turner, afterwards Visitor of Manchester College, Thomas Barnes, its first principal tutor, and Samuel Shore, of Norton, near Sheffield, a distinguished Unitarian layman, proceeded to the Academy. Turner and his father frequently corresponded in Latin,

¹ *Memoir of P. Holland* (1792).

with a word or two of Greek thrown in by the latter to exercise further his son's classical knowledge.¹

From John Aikin's school at Kibworth came John Simpson, who later left Warrington for Glasgow and became a prolific writer on theology ; and his own son, afterwards a lecturer in the Academy. From Priestley's former school at Nantwich came William Wilkinson, shortly to become his brother-in-law, and at least another youth. At Rivington Grammar School, founded by Bishop James Pilkington in 1566, the names of scholars passing on to the academies were starred in the same way as those who went to the universities.² Four went to Warrington, one of whom, James Pilkington, became a dissenting minister and author of *A View of Derbyshire*, 2 vols., 8vo. (1790).

This exceptional attitude of a grammar school towards academies was probably due to the fact that at this time its governors were largely Dissenters, and, amongst them, Lord Willoughby of Parham, President of the Academy. Examples of schools supplying the Academy might be multiplied.

As Warrington was open to youths with secular not less than to those with religious aims in life, without respect to race or creed, its tutors were not drawn exclusively from the ranks of dissenting ministers, as, with a few exceptions, they had been in earlier academies, especially those wholly devoted to the supply of ministers.

For an excellent practical reason, then, Warrington was altogether free from religious tests for teachers and pupils alike, the first institution making so wide an appeal to boast such freedom, after heresy had raised its head in nonconformity, until the rise of the modern university colleges.

But there was a still deeper and more fundamental reason for this freedom. The principle of non-subscription to articles and creeds was of the utmost moment in the minds of the promoters of Warrington Academy, as in the liberal congregations in which they had been reared. This principle emerges in a letter to Seddon from his intimate friend, Philip Holland, to whom he had sent Dr. John Taylor's letter relating to his possible appointment as theological tutor. Incidentally, the letter reveals the first impression which Taylor made upon two men so influential in the promotion and management of the Academy.

I am obliged to you for sending Dr. Taylor's letter ; my sentiments of it, I durst lay a small wager, are very nearly the same with yours. There can be no doubt, I think, but he will undertake the care of the Academy, when invited to it, but I wish there will not be some little difficulty in finding him a colleague that he will approve of, and that he may not aim at too much in the business of lecturing. He does not think, I hope, that a Tutor must make a confession of his faith before he is admitted

¹ MS. Letters of W. Turner (of Wakefield) to his son, 1775-81.

² Margaret E. Kay, *Hist. of Rivington and Blackrod Grammar School*. The author wrongly credits J. Pilkington with being Vicar of Ipswich.

to the Chair. Does it not look too much like it, that he not only refers to his printed works, but proposes to send some manuscripts to be laid before the Gentlemen at Manchester? This, I think, ought by all means to be opposed, as a precedent that may be of bad consequence. If it could be, it would be best a Tutor's sentiments should not be known even by his pupils. The only qualifications for a Tutor, I can at present think of, are a particular acquaintance with the several schemes in the science which he professes to teach, and the strongest arguments by which they are supported. . . .

Students of the Academy were expected to attend divine service on Sunday. Episcopalians went to church, and in the years 1779-83 "they numbered at least one-third of the whole". Probably they were always well represented. Dissenters generally attended upon the ministrations of Seddon, where also went their tutors, except Gilbert Wakefield, who found it difficult to pray with Dissenters, i.e., without a Prayer Book, though he believed almost nothing in it which his colleagues disbelieved, and in 1791 published an *Enquiry into the Expedience and Propriety of Public or Social Worship*, to which Priestley and Mrs. Barbauld, Aikin's daughter, replied. That most tutors were members of the Meeting-House congregation is clear from a letter by Priestley to Seddon, 6 May, 1762, relating to an invitation the latter had received to leave Warrington.

Your congregation will draw up an address to you upon the subject of your invitation to Liverpool, which we hope will have its weight with you. If they tender it to us (the Tutors) we, as part of your congregation, shall most cheerfully sign it.

Occasionally Priestley and his colleagues conducted services for Seddon, especially when he was absent seeking support for the Academy. In this way, and by their discharge of pastoral duties for the absentee, they maintained the status of dissenting ministers whilst free from the charge of congregations.

So much for the foundation of the Academy and its basal principle of freedom. The inner mind and intent of its founders are seen in their ideals of its future.

The eighteenth century has been called "The Age of Reason", and liberal nonconformists were often dubbed "Rational Dissenters". It would be a grave error, however, to suppose that idealism, at the time when the Academy was established, was altogether dormant and inarticulate, or that a "Rational Dissenter" could see no further than the end of his nose. Others besides evangelicals were awake to the need for reforms (the Warrington tutors were anti-slavery to a man) and, even more, to the possibility of developing the innate capacities of contemporaries not counted members of the privileged classes. Even heretics dreamed dreams and saw visions.

The founders of the Academy, sharing the scientific outlook of the day, and acquainted with new inventions in industry, entertained great hopes of the future in education, commerce, politics, and religion. They

saw in their vision a collegiate establishment surpassing in what they deemed most precious the ecclesiastical foundations of the Middle Ages.

What they actually achieved, however, should be judged by comparison with earlier and contemporary academies rather than with the wealthy colleges on the Isis and the Cam, or even with the later and more opulent dissenting colleges of the nineteenth century.

It is at least hardly too much to say that in its liberty, curriculum, methods, and ideals, Warrington Academy does not suffer by comparison with earlier foundations, nor greatly with those that followed, to one of which it bequeathed much, materially and spiritually. Its staff has been described by a great scientist as "a set of teachers as eminent as any place of learning at that time could boast of",¹ whilst a Congregational historian said: "Independents had no Hebrew scholar to be compared with Taylor of Warrington; or anyone versed in general literature equal to Aikin or Enfield; not any one of them could think of competing with Priestley in scientific discovery."²

The Academy was designed to provide an education in almost complete contrast to that for church and state, reserved for particular classes of the community; by its nature, so it seemed, belonging essentially to past generations, and possessing few if any claims upon the future of freeborn Englishmen in an era of industrial and political revolution.

When the Academy scheme was submitted to Joseph Mottershead (1688-1771), whose chapel, Cross Street, Manchester, had suffered at the hands of a Jacobite mob in 1715, he declared (6 October, 1753) his "real approbation of the design and plan, providing it be settled on a foundation conducted in a manner that will manifest an extensive charity, visibly subserve a public rather than a private good, and particularly promote the dissenting interest, which, I verily believe, as it stands among us, is the cause of Truth, Liberty, and Religion".

In the early days of the Academy, the extravagant hopes it kindled were expressed in a letter by a dissenting minister to Seddon:

My compliments attend the worthy gentlemen, the Professors and Heads of Houses in your noble foundation at Warrington. May Knowledge and Learning, Religion and Virtue, Humanity and Good Manners prevail and flourish in it, and such streams from time to time flow from it as shall enlighten and bless the World in general, and make glad and rejoice our little Israel in particular.

Much later, when the institution was in jeopardy, and its activities suspended, a circular drawn up to encourage its support ventured to contrast it with the ancient seats of learning.

"Our Universities were established in those ages when ignorance and superstition held the human mind under regulations and restrictions, which might preserve and promote the learning of those days, but which

¹ T. E. Thorpe, *Joseph Priestley*, p. 33.

² John Stoughton, *History of Religion*, vi, 322.

are ill calculated for an age of science and a nation of freemen. Unfortunately for society, the monkish prejudices under which they were founded continue their influence. A Seminary of education had long been wanted where the faculties might have room to expand, and where, all vain distinctions and useless parade being laid aside, the interests of virtue and learning might alone be consulted. Influenced by sentiments of this kind, a Society of gentlemen, chiefly of Protestant Dissenters, founded the Academy of Warrington in the year 1757."

Much may be forgiven the promoters of a new institution, and more, it may be, the propagandists seeking to save it alive, but even so, the rosy picture of the future of the Academy, and, in contrast, the severe judgment upon university education need explanation and qualification.

There was implicit in the circular no complete disdain of earlier university education. It was the Scottish, not the English universities, that supporters of the Academy, from association with them, desired to emulate.

Few nonconformist academies from Frankland's onwards owed nothing to the Scottish universities, and Warrington owed more than most. Several of its tutors had studied abroad, but only one had been a student at an English university. His stay at Warrington was brief, and his criticism of it, especially of the classical department, was severe. Four tutors had studied at Glasgow, two at Edinburgh, and one at Aberdeen. Edinburgh gave three doctorates to members of the staff, Aberdeen two, and Glasgow one. It was to Scotland that some of the most promising medical and divinity students of Warrington proceeded to complete their education. Undoubtedly, the great attraction about the middle of the eighteenth century was Glasgow College, as it was called, where, said George Walker, a Warrington tutor, were to be found "a constellation of literary characters",¹ Hutcheson, Leechman, Simpson, Adam Smith, Muirhead, and Moore. Of these, Francis Hutcheson the philosopher, and William Leechman the theologian, exercised most influence, through their pupils, on the nonconformist academies, especially on Warrington. "The broad theology and the ethics of Hutcheson had relaxed the severe Calvinism of Glasgow, and had given a liberal tone to a large minority both within and without the University."² "At Glasgow", wrote one who was there a dozen years, "philosophy holds the first rank, having been taught by men of great abilities from the beginning of this century."³ Hutcheson first set the example of regularly using English instead of Latin in lectures, and was followed by his friend Leechman. A north-of-Ireland Presbyterian, who had been under suspicion as an adherent of "the New Light", Hutcheson had been a pupil in one Irish academy

¹ *Essays on Various Subjects*, i, xxvi.

² J. Martineau, *Essays and Addresses*, i, 400-1.

³ *Monthly Repository* (1814), ix, 81.

and tutor in another, Dublin, whence he removed his students to Glasgow when he accepted the chair there.

Leechman, who had been suspected of being a heretic, was very attractive as a teacher, and it is claimed that "the Divinity Hall at Glasgow in his time was crowded with a greater number of scholars than any other in Scotland . . . including young men from England and Ireland as well as Scots".¹ His friendly relations with liberal Dissenters in England is illustrated by his moving the College authorities to bestow the degree of D.D. upon John Taylor, the first head of Warrington Academy, the year (1756) before his appointment. The terms of the diploma are remarkable; commemorating the possession by the recipient of "cum morum sanctimonium tum ingenium vere liberum in nullius sectæ verba jurare addictum".² Leechman corresponded with Taylor and visited him at Warrington in 1759. His biographer speaks of them as "two kindred souls".³

The "regulations and restrictions" characterizing (in the Warrington circular) the older universities in England, cannot be said, so far as they did not relate to religion, to have been absent from Warrington Academy. It was their ineffective application in an atmosphere free from ancient tradition, wherein reverence showed signs of perishing, that hastened the untimely end of the Academy. As the records prove, "Humanity and Good Manners" were somewhat to seek in some of the youths at Warrington who thought Jack at least as good as his master, and did not scruple to translate their thought into actions. From one point of view, the failure of the Academy to survive was the failure of an academic democracy born out of due time.

Yet when all is said and every allowance made, it must be admitted, on the evidence of some of the most gifted of their students and the verdict of impartial historians, that the English universities during the eighteenth century were generally in a state of repose, not to say coma, undisturbed by the fresh, vigorous thinking of men conscious of the problems with which they were faced in religion and politics, industry and commerce.

Given adequate support, the dreams of Warrington pioneers seemed by no means beyond the possibility of realization throughout the three eventful decades that saw the rise, decline, and dissolution of the Academy.

Warrington Academy has too often been regarded as little more than an eighteenth-century nest of heretics. A. B. Grosart in 1885 spoke of it as "the Unitarian training college". A year later, A. A. Brodribb, sketching the life of John Aikin, described it as "the cradle of Unitarianism", and also, more accurately, as "the centre of the liberal politics

¹ Letter of Samuel Kenrick, 10 December, 1776. * *T.U.H.S.*, iii, 267-8.

² J. and E. Taylor, *History of Octagon Chapel, Norwich*, p. 31.

³ J. Wodrow, *Life of Leechman*, Prefixed to *Sermons*, i, 76.

and the literary taste of the County of Lancaster during its brief career".¹ In 1892 A. H. Drysdale, the Presbyterian historian, with more asperity and less accuracy, dismissed it² as "a hotbed of heterodox speculation and activity". T. E. Thorpe, who recognized fully the Academy's work in other fields, said in 1906:³ "It was at the Warrington Academy . . . that the free thought of English Presbyterianism first crystallized into the Unitarian theology."

All these judgments do less than justice to the work of earlier academies and, in greater or less measure, positive injustice to Warrington. Unitarianism, in the form of Arianism (and Warrington went no further) owes at least as much to Taunton, Exeter, Whitehaven, and Kendal (and at least something to Northampton and Daventry) as it does to Warrington.

The Academy was really distinguished not in theology but in letters and science. Actually, theology did not loom large in its life, judging from the number of students who entered upon it. Not quite one in six of all students from first to last was a student in divinity, and even a few of these were episcopalians. Ultimately fifteen entered the Church of England. Again, the courses of study were both varied and secular to an extent never before attempted in a nonconformist academy.

Warrington's theological teaching, indeed, was not at all conspicuous for its novelty or advanced character. The tutors successively responsible for it were as conservative as open-minded scholars of their day could well be. There was nothing like the clashing of opposites which prevailed under Caleb Ashworth at Daventry, where free discussion in class was encouraged.

"In my time", said Joseph Priestley, "the academy (at Daventry) was in a state peculiarly favourable to the serious pursuit of truth, as the students were about equally divided upon every question of much importance . . . and all the articles of theological orthodoxy and heresy. . . . Our tutors also were of different opinions; Dr. Ashworth taking the orthodox side of every question, and Mr. Clark, the sub-tutor, that of heresy.

. . . Our lectures had often the air of friendly conversations on the subjects to which they related, we were permitted to ask whatever questions, and to make whatever remarks we pleased, and we did it with the greatest, but without any offensive, freedom."

At Warrington there was no such disagreement amongst tutors, and no such animated discussion in class, though more than one tutor did his best to encourage it. In the heyday of its success, Priestley, then on the staff, described the tutors as "all zealous necessarians", adding, "We were likewise all Arians, and the only subject on which we differed was respecting the doctrine of the Atonement, concerning which Dr. Aikin held some obscure notions. . . . The only Socinian in the neighbourhood was Mr. Seddon,⁴ of Manchester, and we all wondered at him."

Priestley here employs the terms "Arian" and "Socinian" loosely,

¹ *D.N.B.*, s.v.v.

² *History of Presbyterianism in England*, p. 524.

³ *Joseph Priestley*, p. 33.

⁴ For John Seddon, of Manchester, see p. 65.

not as signifying the whole body of doctrine associated with Arius in the fourth century and Faustus Socinus in the sixteenth. "Arian, in the eighteenth century, denoted those who acknowledged our Lord's pre-existence and his agency in creation and in atonement, while denying his essential deity. Socinian was the name given to those who, denying our Lord's pre-existence, assigned to him no nature but the human: these points, no doubt, are features of the system of Socinus, which in other respects, that of worship, and of Christ's present relation to the divine government of the world, had at this period no access to the minds of the so-called Socinians."¹ It may be added that discreet Arian divines, preferring ethical and practical discourses, avoided speculative and doctrinal subjects, whilst the so-called Socinians, especially after Priestley gave the signal, devoted themselves wholeheartedly to doctrinal propaganda, not always with due consideration for those who differed from them, including Arians.

The first tutor in divinity, Dr. John Taylor, was an aged textual scholar of established repute, with a flair for biblical exegesis. He had written a couple of excellent works on doctrine, and thought the last word had been said when he said it. His manner was oracular, and his antiquarian interests did not consist with the conditions of a new departure in academical instruction. The second divinity tutor, Dr. John Aikin, like many another tutor in academies supported by orthodox funds, was content to expand and expound the well-known textbook of Doddridge, his old tutor at Northampton, a book whose form and much of its content had first been framed by John Jennings, Doddridge's tutor at Kibworth, and Aikin's own father-in-law.

Priestley himself, who in the subjects of his lectures was an innovator, and afterwards became famous as an arch-heretic, made no open advance in doctrinal opinion whilst at Warrington. In a letter to Seddon, 9 April, 1762, he even exhibits a cautious spirit strangely out of keeping with his subsequent character as a controversialist:

You may let me know what Mr. Kippis says about St. Paul [alluding to speculations he published later], but I shall hardly listen to any scheme of publication. Indeed it is too great a risque for a person in my circumstances, and with my views to run. I have known the time when nobody was a more furious freethinker than myself; but *tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis*.

Priestley's marriage was fixed to take place within three months, and this fact may have prompted some degree of caution in the publication of heretical views, but that alone will not account for the language of the letter, which certainly suggests that Warrington Academy exercised a restraining influence upon its most intrepid thinker, of whom his friend Mrs. Barbauld once said: "He followed truth, as a man hawks, his sport—at full speed, straightforward, looking only upwards, and

¹ Alex. Gordon, *The Story of Hale Chapel*, pp. 21-2.

reckless into what difficulties his chase may lead him." Priestley himself regarded his stay at Warrington as an interregnum in his study of theology. Speaking of his pursuits at Leeds, after his removal there in 1767, he writes: "In this situation I naturally resumed my application to speculative theology, which had occupied me at Needham, and which had been interrupted by the business of teaching at Nantwich and Warrington. By reading with care Dr. Lardner's *Letter on the Logos* I became what is called a Socinian."

In the later years of the Academy, the tutors, who amongst many duties, lectured on theology, were what would even then be called "safe" men by Arminians if not by moderate Calvinists. They trod the well-beaten paths in the wake of earlier academy tutors, for whom Locke, Peirce, Clarke and the rest were the great leaders.

Science at Warrington was in a very different position from theology.

In none of the academies was Science wholly neglected, though more prominent in the curriculum of one than another. At Attercliffe under Timothy Jollie, for example, mathematical studies were prohibited "as tending to scepticism and infidelity", but this was an early academy (founded 1690) and quite exceptional. Others, like the London academy under John Eames, F.R.S., the friend of Newton, were outstanding in scientific instruction.

Amongst these the position of Warrington is secure. Priestley's association with it for half a dozen years and his later fame as a scientist have led to his being credited almost exclusively with its pre-eminence in this respect. He shares it with others.

One reason for this is that as Tutor in Languages and Belles Lettres, he was chiefly engaged, more than half against his will, in literary, not in scientific pursuits. He would have preferred the Chair of Natural Philosophy had it been vacant in 1761.

Priestley was introduced to Chemistry at Warrington by a course of lectures given in 1763 at his suggestion. He did not go much further with it whilst at the Academy. Engrossed with other labours, it was much that he interested himself in it at all, and more, that he made original experiments in electricity to illustrate his history of that department of science, and gained admission to the Royal Society. Curiously enough, after making a brilliant beginning in the study of electricity he hardly followed it up, and his fame is that of a chemist. He admitted that "he knew very little chemistry at this time, and even attributed his success to the ignorance which forced him to devise apparatus and processes of his own",¹ He had possessed a telescope and a little electrical apparatus at Nantwich, which he brought to Warrington, and he fitted up a small house behind his residence for his experiments.

In the matter of apparatus and libraries all the academies were of

¹ *D.N.B.*, art. "J. Priestley," by Philip Hartog.

course far behind the universities. "If their laboratories, gardens, and noble libraries are to be brought into the balance", said an early defender of the academies,¹ "I know of no Dissenter that is fool enough to deny their superiority." The writer was probably thinking of academies like his own which perished in the first decade of the eighteenth century. Institutional academies in the second half of the century had more to show. Deficient as was the Warrington apparatus from the modern point of view, it was as efficient within its limits as was then procurable. At the outset it consisted of an orrery, an air-pump, and other instruments which had been the property of John Horsley, F.R.S., on whose death it was purchased by Caleb Rotheram, tutor at Kendal. When that academy closed (1752), it was acquired by John Holt, and finally by Warrington Academy, of which Holt was appointed tutor in Natural Philosophy. The apparatus was at first in his care, and, in the words of the Minute on the subject, "It was agreed that £4 4s. be allowed to Mr. Holt in consideration of the room in his house which has been made the repository of the Philosophical Instruments, and the Place for exhibiting experiments to the Students." In 1760 some "capital instruments were purchased at a cost of £100". Three years later, for the purpose of the lectures on Chemistry by Dr. Matthew Turner of Liverpool, "a room was properly fitted up in the new Academy premises and an useful apparatus secured". Dr. N. Clayton, the last principal tutor (1780-3), was "not merely a theoretical but a practical mechanic—an excellent workman with a lathe and in cabinet work. Some of the most accurate and highly finished articles in the Warrington apparatus were invented and finished by him for the use of Dr. Enfield." An old student of the Academy "recalled as particularly curious an apparatus for demonstrating the laws of the composition and resolution of forces; another for the phenomena of the collision of elastic and non-elastic bodies, and a pair of whirling tables, the comparative velocities of which might be accurately adjusted to a variety of rates".² Priestley, in a postscript to a letter addressed to Emanuel Da Costa, secretary of the Royal Society, said: "The gentlemen concerned in our Academy desire that I would return you their grateful acknowledgments for your very acceptable present of specimens of minerals." As late as 30 September, 1782, the financial statement in manuscript contains an item, £19 4s. 2d. for "Articles of Apparatus".

At Warrington lectures were given at different times by various tutors on different branches of Mathematics, on Mineralogy, Physiology, and Anatomy. Enfield was responsible for a comprehensive course, including Chemistry, Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, Optics, Astronomy, Magnetism, and Electricity.

¹ S. Palmer, *Vindication of the Dissenters*, p. 25.

² *Monthly Repository*, viii, 629.

In addition to Priestley's work on electricity already mentioned, five or six books on science were published by three other tutors for the benefit in the first instance of their pupils, one or two standard works were translated, and, in addition, two, if not three courses of scientific lectures delivered in the Academy survive in manuscript.

More important than this work were the later scientific publications of Warrington tutors and students, for which the Academy deserves a modicum of credit.

Not less than in science did Warrington excel in language, history, and literature. Classics and Semitics were carefully taught by competent scholars to students of divinity, but so were they in most academies, by reason of their relation to the study of Scripture. Until Doddridge broke with tradition at Northampton, Latin had been the language in which lectures were given, and, in some seminaries, was required also in the common discourse of the house. Needless to say, Warrington did not go to these lengths, nor require lessons at morning prayers to be read in the original tongues. One tutor, Gilbert Wakefield, was a most diligent student of Semitics, reading Hebrew freely, and, in his own words, "learnt also Syriac and Chaldee, acquired the Samaritan character, added Ethiopic, Arabic, and Persic, and finally read with the utmost facility the Coptic version of the New Testament". There is no evidence that much of this Oriental learning was unloaded upon his students, though there is some that he would have liked it to have been, and he wished, in especial, to increase the hours and range of classical studies. Whilst at Warrington he published (1781-2) translations of two books of the New Testament as parts of a complete translation of it which appeared in 1792. The benefit of these labours he bestowed upon his pupils; their lack of a university drill in classics was a consequence of the explicit policy of the Academy. Greek and Latin enjoyed no unquestioned precedence at Warrington.

With modern languages it was different. French and Italian were regularly taught, and German also during the three years at least when J. Reinhold Forster, a native of a parish near Dantzic, was a tutor in the Academy. Elsewhere in academies French alone was regularly taught, usually as an optional subject, and indifferently taught at that. At Kibworth the tutor required his pupils to read it "without regarding the pronunciation" which he did not know. Only at Warrington does French seem to have formed part of the regular curriculum, and there alone was a Frenchman appointed to teach it. All this was no doubt part of the implicitly expressed indebtedness to the France of the eighteenth century, whose language, science, and politics (almost alone of those on the Continent) exercised so potent an influence upon Englishmen, and by no means least upon radical Protestant Dissenters during the last half of that century.

History and Geography were even more neglected than modern languages in earlier academies. Their "weak point was the treatment or non-treatment of History, which rarely appears in the schemes of lectures except under the head of Chronology, and this was largely Biblical. Sacred history was to some extent dealt with under the head of Jewish Antiquities, but ecclesiastical history was not treated, nor history of doctrine."¹ The appointment of John James Tayler as professor of ecclesiastical history at Manchester College in 1840 was said to have been "apparently the first instance of a separate chair for this department in a nonconformist college".² History, indeed, in any proper sense as a fully recognized subject of university study, belongs to the middle of the nineteenth century. In history and geography Warrington was a pioneer amongst centres of higher education, and for this Priestley was largely responsible.

A modern scientist has said of Priestley:³ "As a nonconformist minister, as a theologian, as a philosopher—the three capacities in which he might be described as a professional—Priestley has to-day little fame. His immortality rests solely upon scientific experiments that formed his chief recreation." This is true. It is not the whole truth. It omits mention of Priestley as an educator and a waymaker in historical method. A later writer, an educationalist, has justly coupled his name with those of three recognized pioneers in education.⁴ "Periods of educational advance have always been characterized by ferment of thought and evangelical fervour; this applies as much to Joseph Priestley and T. H. Huxley, as to Arnold and Mansbridge. Pursuit of knowledge has gone hand in hand with the desire to share it." Priestley was undoubtedly a distinguished chemist, though chemistry was not his first interest in life. He was also distinguished, if not equally so, as a teacher and a popularizer of knowledge by the spoken and the written word. In his dedication of the Sermon preached for the Widows' Fund in 1764, he showed himself an educational pioneer. Speaking of children, he says, addressing their mothers:

It is part of your wisdom to teach them, or get them instructed (especially your daughters) in those arts by which they may be enabled to procure themselves a decent provision by the labour of their own hands, at the same time that they must be educated in such a manner as to be proper companions for those who live by the labour of others.

"Among girls of all classes education (at this time) was still backward. . . . Even the upper classes expected women's education to be confined to simple subjects. . . . Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who could not

¹ Alex. Gordon, *Addresses, Biographical and Historical*, p. 77.

² Alex. Gordon, *D.N.B.*, s.v. J. J. Tayler.

³ *Johnson's England*, ed. A. S. Turberville, art. "Science," by E. J. Holmyard.

⁴ Kenneth Lindsay, *English Education*, p. 24.

think it 'criminal' to improve her reason, studied Latin surreptitiously, thought scholarship the business of professional men, and advised women to conceal their learning as they would conceal a defect."¹

Probably if Priestley had continued his work in the field of education, and exhibited the same zeal therein as marked his doctrinal propaganda or his scientific research, his name might have ranked high among writers on the theory of education and among experts in its practice. Indeed, as it is, no study of eighteenth-century education can claim to be complete which takes no account of the work of the Tutor in Languages and Belles Lettres at Warrington Academy.

All the tutors at Warrington of whose political opinions anything is known were Whigs, some even radicals, and three of them were subsequently to suffer for their advocacy of freedom. Their politics were born of experience as well as of tradition. Their chapels had suffered at the hands of the Pretenders, Old and Young, in 1715 and 1745, and they still lived under severe restrictions upon the exercise of what they deemed their religious and political rights as citizens under a constitutional monarchy. The first name appended to the circular calling for the general meeting for the purpose of founding the Academy was that of Daniel Bayley, son of James Bayley, of Manchester, who had been seized by the rebels in 1745, and only released on condition of raising £2,500 in the course of a day. A Wakefield minister writing to his son at the Academy, after condemning the government policy at home and abroad, said :

Through the folly and wickedness of the present, you of the rising generation have indeed a dark prospect before you. . . . Your best way will be to gather as fast as you can a good stock of the arts and sciences of this country ; and if you find the night of despotism and wretchedness overwhelm this hemisphere, follow the course of the sun to that country where freedom has already fixed her standard and is erecting her throne ; where the sciences and arts, wealth and power will soon gather round her ; and assist and strengthen her empire there.²

No tutor at Warrington excelled Priestley in the firm and fearless advocacy of liberty and freedom, but all, in differing degrees, derived incentive and inspiration from America, a country answering for them to the "Jerusalem which is above, that is free, which is the mother of us all". Like the seer in the lonely isle of Patmos, in their visions they beheld across the sea "a new heaven and a new earth".

In *A Lecture on the Study of History* (1895), Lord Acton quoted a saying of Sir John Seeley : "Politics are vulgar when they are not liberalized by history, and history fades into mere literature when it loses sight of its relation to practical politics."

It was largely Priestley's interest in politics that determined his

¹ Sir Charles Mallet, art. "Education" in *Johnson's England*, ii, 224-5.

² MS. Letter from William Turner (of Wakefield) to his son.

introduction of History into the curriculum, and geography entered as ancillary to its study. Before his time, the Tutor in Natural Philosophy gave "two or three lectures in Geography every week". Priestley gave it its proper place and importance in the Academy. Of History he said: "My view was to facilitate its subserviency to the highest uses . . . to contribute to its forming able statesman and the intelligent and useful citizen." Hence he enumerated amongst "the most important objects of attention" such matters as "government despotism" and "the advantages of democracy."

A Chart of Biography (1765) "was first drawn out to be made use of . . . as one of the mechanical methods of facilitating the study of History"; and *A New Chart of History* (1769) was "based upon a French chart commended to Warrington students in lectures on History".

Obviously anything like specialized and detached historical study was not attempted at Warrington or elsewhere until much later. Even in the middle of the nineteenth century in a training school for ministers presided over by a contemporary of James Martineau at Manchester College, York, one of the subjects of study was "The History of the World, with Special Reference to the History of Civilization"—a course which must have presented an excellent example of compression and restraint to would-be pulpit orators. Joseph Priestley had at least got far beyond that sort of omnibus course. In the words of Alexander Gordon, the profoundest student of his non-scientific works,¹ "He struck out a line of his own, converting a tutorship in the Belles Lettres into a chair of constitutional history", and he reckons "his greatest service to theological science is to be found in his adoption of the historical method of investigating the problems of doctrine, and in his special handling of that method. . . . The plan was novel, the conception original, the whole endeavour strictly scientific in its method and basis. . . . He is the genuine precursor of the properly historical treatment of biblical and theological questions." Dr. Moffatt is independently in agreement. Speaking of the historical method of approach to the New Testament twenty-eight years later, he says:² "The phrase and even the idea, in a rudimentary form, are as old as Dr. Priestley, who spoke of 'the historical method' in the preface to his book on *The History of the Corruptions of Christianity*. . . . Apart altogether from his ideas of the essence of Christianity, his conception of what was required for his argument was correct."

The results of Priestley's historical investigations of Christian doctrine did not see the light until after he had left the Academy, but the results are less important than the method employed to obtain them, and this was forged at Warrington.

¹ "Joseph Priestley," in *Heads of English Unitarian History*, pp. 109, 121, 122.

² *The Approach to the New Testament* (1922), p. 117.

All the evidence ¹ goes to prove that in the science of teaching Priestley, with all his faults, was a pathfinder, and, despite his defective utterance a born teacher.

Dr. John Aikin, whilst Tutor in Languages and Belles Lettres, selected the classical authors to be read in class and adopted a method of lecturing on them designed to illustrate primarily the history and literature of Greece and Rome, and not merely to impart a knowledge of languages to the student of the Greek Testament, the Septuagint, and the Latin versions, as subsidiary to the reading of the Scriptures in the original tongues.

Aikin's son and daughter have a place of their own in English Literature, however modest it may now appear to be. John Aikin, M.D., who lectured in science after Priestley left the Academy, began in 1772 his long series of contributions to literature with *Essays in Song Writing* and other works published at Warrington.

Anna Letitia joined her brother in *Miscellaneous Pieces in Prose*, 1773. It contained one "On Romance" by the lady, in imitation of Dr. Johnson's thought and style, of which he said, when discussing imitators of his style: "No sir, the imitators of my style have not hit it. Miss Aikin has done it the best, for she has imitated the sentiment as well as the diction." The first volume of her poems also appeared in 1773, a handsome quarto, which, though published in London by Joseph Johnson, bears the imprint of the Warrington press. It contained many short pieces and the larger and more powerful one on "Corsica" written in 1769. As early as September, 1767, she gave a copy in manuscript of her first poem to Priestley, whose efforts in verse first stimulated her exercise of the poetical faculty, as he was leaving Warrington for Leeds. Mrs. Barbauld, it may be frankly admitted, was at least as distinguished a Unitarian as she was a poet, but she by no means lacked inspiration. The well-known lines on "Life", written in old age, won the praise of contemporary and later writers. The last stanza runs:

Life! we've been long together,
Through pleasant and through cloudy weather;
'Tis hard to part when friends are near;
Perhaps 'twill cost a sigh, a tear;
Then steal away, give little warning,
Choose thine own time;
Say not Good night, but in some brighter clime
Bid me Good morning.

Wordsworth said of the poem: "I am not in the habit of grudging other people their good things, but I wish I had written those lines." He placed Mrs. Barbauld at the head of the poetesses of the period, but thought she was "spoiled by being a Dissenter and concerned with a Dissenting academy"!

¹ See pp. 52-7.

The occasional presentation of scenes from plays in collegiate exercises at Warrington is noteworthy. The only earlier academy in which dramatic art was encouraged was Kibworth, taught by John Jennings, father-in-law of John Aikin, the Warrington tutor. The introduction of students, including candidates for the ministry, to exercises of this kind reveals an openness of mind and a sense of the value of histrionism rare in dissenting circles in the eighteenth century. Mrs. Barbauld maintained the tradition in her school at Palgrave much later, and her niece, Lucy Aikin, observed in a letter to Dr. Channing many years afterwards: "Long before my time, my kindred the Jennings, the Belshams, my excellent grandfather Aikin . . . had begun to break forth out of the chains and darkness of Calvinism, and their manners softened with their system. My youth was spent among the disciples or fellow-labourers of Price and Priestley, the descendants of Dr. John Taylor, the Arian, or in the society of that most amiable of men, Dr. Enfield. Amongst them was no rigorism. Dancing, cards, the theatres, were all held lawful in moderation."

Of John Aikin, M.D., her father, already noticed, a biographer said: "He is better known as a man of letters than as a physician. . . . Hardly a year passed without some contribution to literature."¹ The published writings of William Enfield, which included a "History of Liverpool", 1777, also deserve honourable mention, and if sermons are not to be excluded from literature, a few of those by tutors of the Academy should be taken into account, as they were when they made their appearance.

In literature, then, Warrington, if it could make no pretence to rival capitals like London and Edinburgh, was plainly, during the second half of the eighteenth century, an important provincial centre of literary activity—thanks to its Academy.

One distinguishing feature of the Academy may not appear to be such at first sight. With the exception of a course of lectures based on Doddridge's text-book, already mentioned, none of the lectures delivered had previously been given in whole or in part to students of any earlier academy. Elsewhere, manuscript lectures, or notes of lectures taken down by students in one academy had frequently been used by tutors of another, even many years after the lectures had been originally written. This had been particularly the case with unpublished scientific lectures by famous teachers like John Eames and Samuel Jones, though the practice was not confined to scientific prelections. Doddridge's lectures on preaching, for instance, were popular in this way amongst his successors. With two exceptions, Warrington tutors of English nationality had been students in dissenting academies, and owed much to them, but, with no disrespect to their former teachers, they preferred a fresh

¹ *D.N.B. sub voce.*

and independent study of their subjects before presenting results to their pupils. In other words, they looked forward rather than backwards.

Another point of contrast with earlier private academies relates to students. When pupils entered Warrington Academy they normally completed their course, if competent to do so, or not, for good reasons, expelled, always provided their parents continued their support. In earlier academies, on the contrary, it was a common practice for students to migrate from one academy to another in order to profit by the lectures of tutors who had specialized in some subject, and occasionally, as the result of change of theological opinion, removing, generally, from one orthodox academy to another more liberal. One student is known to have sampled the wares of no fewer than five tutors in as many academies. The larger staff, the freer theological atmosphere, and the more extensive curriculum at Warrington made such migrations unnecessary. At the outset, a number of students entered Warrington Academy from other academies, but only one left it for an academy elsewhere, except a grandson of the first divinity tutor, who did so for personal reasons.

Students in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century academies were permitted the use of their tutors' private libraries. Such libraries, purchased often by penurious men, who before 1689 had no certain abiding place, and upon whom, after Toleration was granted, the law and a powerful church looked with little favour, could not compare with the rich libraries at Oxford and Cambridge. Students were even driven to migrate from one academy to another in order to extend their acquaintance with the printed word. Thus Thomas Emlyn left John Shuttlewood's academy at Sulby, after a year, for Emmanuel College, Cambridge, returned, and again left for Doolittle's academy in London, because Shuttlewood "had very few books, and them chiefly of one sort".¹

Doddridge seems to have been the first tutor (c. 1730) to establish an Academy library. Once established, the value of a collection of books for the students was quickly recognized, and its defects repaired to the best ability of the staff and supporters of the Academy—some of the funds making special grants for this purpose. An institutional academy, with many interested in its work, was presumably in a better position than a private academy to secure additions to its library. Warrington naturally followed the example of Northampton, at which two of its tutors had been trained, one of them having been assistant tutor for a time, and two more, pupils at Daventry, the successor of Northampton, which inherited its library.

Before the formation of the Academy library at Warrington, students, then few in number, had the use of their tutors' books. The library consisted in the main of two valuable collections—one, the collection of Dr. Benjamin Grosvenor (1676–1758), given by his son Richard;

¹ *Memoirs of Thomas Emlyn, Works*, i, p. v.

the other, of the Rev. Samuel Stubbs (1715-1753), an old student at Findern under Dr. Latham, loaned by his brother. Richard Grosvenor gave his father's books "on condition that they should be vested in the hands of trustees, in such a manner that they might never become private property, but that, in all future time, if any unfavourable event should attend this institution, they might be transferred to some other dissenting academy; at the same time, allowing a liberty to dispose of duplicates, or of such books as were not immediately useful for the design, provided that the money arising from such sale should be employed in the purchase of other books, which should also be esteemed a part of the Dr.'s library".

Benjamin Grosvenor, D.D., was a famous Presbyterian minister, and contributed the first paper on "Bigotry" to the "Occasional Papers" (1716-19), which "had a marked effect in forming the ideas of dissenters on the subject of religious liberty".¹

The second collection of books loaned to Warrington, and afterwards given to its successor, was even more valuable, and a student who used them remarked on their variety and value, "and the important notes and references, interspersed in the margins of many of them", betraying "considerable learning and curious research". Samuel Stubbs had been a student of great promise, and Dr. Latham had "looked forward with hope to his succeeding him in the direction of the academy". He died at the early age of 38, and, in his funeral sermon, Latham paid tribute to "his intellectual accomplishments, and his vast erudition acquired by great reading and study". Two other early benefactions to the Library were those of Mr. James Percival, merchant, of Liverpool, and of Mr. Henry Kendall, of Ulverston. In 1760 "some valuable books" were added, and "one of the best collections of maps, both ancient and modern" was purchased for "between 30 and 40 pounds".

Students on entering the Academy were required to pay a sum of "not less than half a guinea for the use of the Library". From 1770 the fee was fixed at a guinea, and library fees were spent on the purchase of books.

John Seddon acted as librarian from the foundation of the Library. "Mr. Weeks, of London, was appointed Bookseller to the Academy." Seddon purchased books on the recommendation of the tutors, and once at least he was reluctant to lay out money in this way, possibly from regard to the scanty funds of the Academy. Dr. Taylor, in a general indictment of him, complained that he had not purchased books recommended by the tutors. The matter came before the Committee, which sympathized with Seddon on other points, but instructed him to purchase the books.

When Priestley wanted a couple of books, being doubtless aware of

¹ *D.N.B.*, s.v. art. by Alex. Gordon.

what had passed between the late principal tutor and the librarian, he wrote to Seddon with great courtesy, 17 May, 1762: "I shall be very much obliged if you can buy, either for me, or the Library, Sharp's *Dissertation on Language* and Bonier's *Mythology*." Priestley knew how to handle a librarian.

The Library Catalogue, printed for the Academy in 1775, by W. Eyres, is arranged under subjects as follows:

1. Greek and Roman Classics	70 titles.
2. Translations	19 "
3. Dictionaries, Grammars (Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Italian) .	36 "
4. Biography	50 "
5. History, Chronology, Voyages, Travels, etc.	82 "
6. Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, etc.	81 "
7. Politics, Commerce and Law	40 "
8. Sermons	41 "
9. Morals and Metaphysics	25 "
10. Evidences of Christianity and Ecclesiastical History	67 "
11. Theological and Scripture Criticism	85 "
12. Miscellanies	78 "

The titles cover many books of more than one volume each. Section 5 (History), for example, includes 236 volumes, and Section 12 (Miscellanies) 151.

The list at least illustrates the variety of subjects to which the attention of the students might be directed. Considerable additions to the Library were made later by bequests and benefactions, and when the institution was dissolved it included 4,000 volumes.

In one respect the Academy was more fortunate than any of its predecessors. In William Eyres, the Warrington printer (1745-1809), it enjoyed the services of a man of more than common merit. At his bookseller's shop near the Market-Gate in the Horse-market, he printed the Library Catalogue, and from his press (1760-1803) were issued the text-books written by the tutors for their pupils as well as numerous works by them and other scholars, including maps, charts, classical, literary, and homiletic publications intended for more general circulation. In all he was responsible for nearly 200 works, exclusive of different editions of the same work, and the ephemeral ballads, chap-books, etc., which, it is said, provided him with the means he amassed by his labours. Together with his elder brother, he printed from March 1756 almost to the end of the year, a weekly newspaper, one of the earliest newspapers in the County of Lancaster.¹ His typography is not unworthy to be ranked with those of his more famous contemporaries, Foulis, of Glasgow, and Baskerville, of Birmingham, though less extensive in its range, despite the fact that he has escaped the notice of most writers on the

¹ James Kendrick, "Eyres' Warrington Press," arts. in *Warrington Guardian*, 1881.

subject. He appears to have had no Greek or Hebrew founts, for in Priestley's *Lectures on Universal Grammar*, spaces were left for Greek and Hebrew words to be inserted. *Hymns for Public Worship* (Warrington, 1772), ed. W. Enfield, first included hymns by Mrs. Barbauld.

Thomas Pennant had his *Tour in Scotland* (4to) printed by Eyres in 1774 and his *British Zoology* (4 vols.) in 1768-70, and William Roscoe his first work, *Mount Pleasant* (4to), in 1777. Eyres' edition of the *History of the Ancient Earls of Warren*, by John Watson, M.A., in 1776, was said by Gilbert Wakefield to be "perhaps the most accurate specimen of typography ever produced by any press", that of John Aikin's *Tacitus*, 1767, was described by Edward Harwood (*Biographica Classica*) as "a beautifully printed book". Probably his most widely circulated and most influential production was John Howard's *State of Prisons in England*, 1777.

It is interesting to discover from a letter of Priestley (1 May, 1762) that for some time at least Eyres worked almost single-handed:¹ "About a fourth part of my lectures (*On the Theory of Language and Universal Grammar*) are printed off. Aires is too slow, but he has no help; his boy has left him."

By the year 1777, when Howard's book was passing through the press, he employed at least one man, James Roby, who gave his whole time to it, having taken up his residence in Warrington for the purpose.

As Eyres did not print the later and more radical works written by ex-tutors of the Academy, he suffered no religious or political persecution, and he added no word of thanks to God for the completion of any publication similar to that of Christopher Plantin at the end of a sixteenth-century Hebrew Bible used in the Academy by William Turner, one of the students. The subscription, printed in unpointed Hebrew, runs (Englished): "Blessed be the Lord who hath not taken away his mercy from us, and hath thought us worthy to finish this book without an adversary (literally, Satan) or ill accident."

CHAPTER III

WARRINGTON ACADEMY

ITS RISE AND PROGRESS, 1757-70

WARRINGTON ACADEMY was opened 20 October, 1757, by the provision of houses, taken on a short lease, in which the tutors, as responsible tenants, should reside, with students as boarders, and by the acquisition of a large brick house with garden by the side of the Mersey.

¹ *Christian Reformer*, x, 628 (1854).

There was apparently no formal public opening ceremony, though doubtless tutors and students did not let the day pass without some fitting celebration, in word or deed, of the event. This academy building was celebrated by Mrs. Barbauld in her poem "The Invitation", addressed to her friend Miss B(elsham). It commemorates the site of the Academy and the hopes its inception kindled :

Mark where its simple front yon mansion rears,
The nursery of men for future years !
Here callow chiefs and embryo statesmen lie,
And unfledged poets short excursions try,
While Mersey's gentle current, which too long
By fame neglected and unknown to song,
Between his rushy banks—no poet's theme—
Had crept inglorious, like a vulgar stream,
Reflects th' ascending seats with conscious pride,
And dares to emulate a classic tide.

How bright the scene to Fancy's eye appears,
Through the long perspective of distant years,
When this, this little group their country calls
From academic shades and learned halls,
To fix her laws, her spirit to sustain,
And light up glory through her wide domain.

Bright, after visiting Warrington about 1857, spoke slightly of this description of the Academy building. "Perhaps it would have been wiser to take it on trust, and let fancy picture the building worthy of Mrs. Barbauld's muse. At least I should have supposed the Academy faced the river, and that there was something to distinguish it from the surrounding houses. This blissful ignorance, however, has been dissipated, and I know now that the very 'simple front' of the ugly, mean, old brick house never fronted the river, and that a dingy side with six windows ranged in pairs along it, and a single attic window, surmounted by a weathercock, was all that the river, with all its 'conscious pride' could manage by any possibility to reflect."¹

Yet, as H. Stuart Page urged :² "Could we but carry ourselves back to 1757, we should behold a very different scene. There was no road there then ; the green of the river bank was all that separated the Academy from the Mersey, which at that time was an uncontaminated stream, noted for its salmon, and flowing considerably nearer the house, in its own untrammelled course, than it does at present. Alongside it ran a path, and its margin was dotted with stately trees. The house itself, standing back from the street, would present rather an important appearance in juxtaposition to the black and white timbered cottages

¹ "A Historical Sketch of Warrington Academy," *Trans. of Hist. Soc. of Lancs. and Chesh.*, ii, 1-30 (1858).

² *The Most Interesting House in Warrington*, pp. 12-13.

that chiefly went to make up Bridge Street. . . . It is to be regretted that one adjunct to the old house, particularly connected with Mrs. Barbauld, has disappeared, viz., the alcove, or summerhouse, that stood in the garden, and, until recently (1888), could be seen over the wall in Friars' Lane. No doubt many of her poems were produced here as well as the pretty 'Verses Written In An Alcove', which were printed in her first volume in 1773."

So much for the building and site of the Academy when opened. The stipends of the tutors were originally £100 a year each, with an addition of a fee of two guineas from each student attending each course of lectures, from which payment, however, divinity students "on the foundation" were generally exempt. As the contributions of students, relatively few in number, did not materially increase tutors' salaries, these were raised in September, 1758, to £120 and ultimately to £135, and class fees were diverted to the Academy exchequer. Whilst tutors boarded students, they received on this account a minimum of £15 each per student, with something more according to the accommodation provided. Students who did not leave for the summer vacation of two months paid £18, and for all the terms were exclusive of "tea, washing (except bed and table linen), fire and candles".

Even when every allowance is made for the comparatively low cost of living at that date, it cannot be said that the tutors received excessive remuneration for their services, especially as most of them, unlike private tutors in earlier academies, were not also in receipt of stipends as dissenting ministers.

When the Academy removed into its new home in 1762, "commons and furniture" were provided by Mr. and Mrs. John Rigby at £15 per session, when two students shared a room, and £17 for a student with a single room, and the rent of rooms varied from three to four guineas according to situation.

From 1766 to 1783 twenty divinity students received bursaries of £12 each from the Presbyterian Fund, London; others received exhibitions from the Lady Hewley Fund, and an occasional grant of £10 was received from the Chamberlain Trust, Hull—all seventeenth-century foundations. From "The Education Fund", Chester, a few men also received small grants. By her will, dated 2 December, 1726, Mrs. Elizabeth Norbury left £200 to be invested, "the income of which is to be applied to the maintenance and education of young men of the Presbyterian persuasion then studying divinity, and who shall be of pious and sober lives." Two students came from the Chester congregation, and two members of it, one a son-in-law of Matthew Henry, were on the first committee of the Academy, whilst several others subscribed to the institution. Some divinity students received help from the more recently established Mary Clough Fund, Liverpool, whose first grants



(a)



(b)

Warrington Academy.

(a) The First Building, 1757.

(b) The Second Building, 1762.

were made in 1763. Mrs. Mary Clough had provided that interest on £1,000 should be devoted "towards the maintenance in some private school or academy in England, or in some University in Scotland, of youths and young men brought up scholars, and designed to be Protestant Presbyterian Ministers of the Gospel dissenting from the Church of England. The said youths to be born within the County of Lancaster, and be not of ability to be at the charges thereof." Robert Nicholson, secretary of the Clough Fund, in a letter 10 April, 1774, names pupils at Warrington who received grants. He was the brother of James Nicholson, a staunch supporter of the Academy, whose wife was a cousin of Seddon.¹ The brothers, who were in partnership as merchants from 1748, had been pupils at Kendal Academy, of which Seddon was an *alumnus*.

When the Academy attracted sons of wealthy and titled laymen, a proficient but impoverished divinity student would earn an honest penny by leading "a gentleman" over the *pons asinorum*, or even initiating him into the mysteries of the differential calculus. Thus William Turner, a Lady Hewley scholar, coached in mathematics a son of a trustee of the Hewley Fund, and later became nothing less than private tutor in general to the heir of a baronet.

The Academy opened with five students only, of whom four were Warrington youths; in the second year there were twenty-four. The full course of study was one of five years, but for men "intended for a life of Business and Commerce" a course of three years was arranged.

At the beginning boys of fourteen and even under were admitted, and the Academy for a time provided both elementary and higher education. "Several inconveniences" were, however, "found to attend the admission of young Gentlemen at too early an age",² and after a few experimental years the Trustees decided to have nothing to do with teaching "the first rudiments of the learned languages since it was scarcely possible to connect two such different plans of education together, and to bring young Gentlemen of such different ages under the same discipline".³

In 1760 the "Plan" of education for the full course and for the special three years' course was published. A student taking the full course was to spend his first year learning languages and elementary mathematics. In his second year, the study of languages was continued, and Logic, more advanced Mathematics, Natural History, and an Introduction to Natural Philosophy were taken. The third year was chiefly occupied with Natural and Moral Philosophy, and occasional classes in Belles Lettres and Mathematics. In the fourth year, Moral Philosophy and Theology, whilst in the final year, "those studies that peculiarly

¹ *The Nicholson Family*, ed. by E. A. Axon, (privately printed), 1929.

² Minutes of Academy, 1762.

³ *Ibid.*, 1766.

relate to his profession and those Exercises which are to prepare him for a proper Discharge of the Public Office he has in view" were to occupy his time and thought. Throughout the course, translation, composition, and exercises in speaking were required supplementary to lectures and classes. Senior students were expected to give assistance to juniors "in the preparation of their lectures".

The course for lay students is here given in detail since the provision for these in other academies is not generally set forth, nor did any earlier academy have so large a proportion of them amongst its total number of students.

FIRST YEAR

- (1) Elementary Mathematics (Arithmetic, Algebra, and Geometry).
- (2) French.
- (3) Universal Grammar and Rhetoric.

Weekly Exercises :

- (1) Translation of French into English.
- (2) The composition of an essay on some subject in English.
- (3) Specimens of letters in the epistolary style to imitate.

SECOND YEAR

- (1) Mathematics (Trigonometry ; Navigation if desired).
- (2) Natural Philosophy, and the "easier parts of Astronomy applied to the use of the Globes, and the general system of the Universe".
- (3) French.

Weekly Exercises :

- (1) Translating of English into French.
- (2) Specimens of French Letters to imitate.
- (3) English Composition.

THIRD YEAR

- (1) Natural Philosophy and "some of the principal Experiments in the Elements of Chemistry".
- (2) "A short system of Morality . . . concluding with the Evidences of the Christian Religion".

Weekly Exercises :

- (1) Dissertations in some moral, political, or commercial subjects.
- (2) French-English, English-French Translations.

Lay students were also to give attention "to pronouncing the English language well, and in this connection to attend lectures on Oratory and Grammar", and, during "the whole of their course" they were to learn "the best methods of Book-Keeping", "to improve their writing", and "to make some Progress in the Art of Drawing and Designing". To this end a special tutor was appointed from time to time to give instruction in Writing, Drawing, and Book-keeping. Shorthand would be taught if desired. Jacob Bright, a local worthy, spent two hours a day in the Academy for some twenty years teaching Writing, Drawing,

Book-keeping, and Surveying. The fees were a guinea per session for the first two subjects, and two guineas for the third. His stipend was a minimum of £20 per annum, and the addition of the pupils' fees.

Finally, "one or two lectures" were to be given every week on Geography during the whole course in which "the principal problems upon the Globes will be resolved; the use of Maps represented; and the Natural History, Manufactures, Traffick, Coins, Religion, Government etc of the several Countries will be enlarged upon."

There were lectures on Commerce, and Dr. Aikin was responsible for a time for a course on Political Philosophy and Economy.

Such was the course, varied from time to time, of laymen in the Academy. That from first to last the staff of the Academy was an exceptionally strong team may be seen from the list of tutors with subjects and dates:

DIVINITY

John Taylor, D.D. (Glasgow), 1757-61.

John Aikin, M.A. (King's Coll., Aberdeen), D.D. (King's Coll. and Marischal Coll., Aberdeen), 1761-80.

Nicholas Clayton, D.D. (Edinburgh), 1780-3.

LANGUAGES AND BELLES LETTRES

John Aikin, M.A., D.D., 1758-61.

Joseph Priestley, LL.D. (Edinburgh), F.R.S., 1761-7.

LANGUAGES AND NATURAL HISTORY

J. Reinhold Forster, LL.D. (Oxon.), 1768-70.

FRENCH AND ITALIAN

Fantin La Tour (Geneva Univ.), 1770-2.

Lewis Guerry (Lausanne and Leyden Univs.), 1772-5.

FRENCH AND FENCING

Mr. Hulme, 1775-83.

BELLES LETTRES

John Seddon (Glasgow Univ.), 1767-70.

Pendlebury Houghton (Glasgow), 1778-9.

William Enfield, LL.D. (Edinburgh), 1770-83.

CLASSICS AND BELLES LETTRES

Gilbert Wakefield, B.A. (Cantab), 1779-83.

NATURAL PHILOSOPHY AND MATHEMATICS

John Holt (Glasgow Univ.), 1757-72.

George Walker, F.R.S. (Edinburgh and Glasgow Univs.), 1772-4.

William Enfield, LL.D. (Edinburgh), 1774-83.

CHEMISTRY

Dr. Matthew Turner, 1763-5.

CHEMISTRY, ANATOMY AND PHYSIOLOGY

John Aikin, M.D. (Leyden), (Edin. and Leyden Univs.), 1770-9.

COMMERCIAL SUBJECTS

Jacob Bright, 1763-83.

RECTOR ACADEMIÆ

John Seddon, 1767-70.

William Enfield, 1770-9.

At the outset two tutors only were on the spot to begin work, the negotiations for the appointment of a third having broken down, viz. John Taylor and John Holt.

John Taylor, D.D. (1694-1761), was born in the parish of Lancaster. His father, a timber merchant, was an episcopalian and his mother a nonconformist. In 1709 at the age of fifteen he began his education for the dissenting ministry at the Whitehaven Academy under Thomas Dixon, M.A., M.D. Here, as early as 1712, he displayed an interest which proved lifelong by drawing up for his own use a Hebrew Grammar, a manuscript of some hundred pages. From Whitehaven, Taylor migrated to Findern Academy, where he spent three years with Thomas Hill, son of an ejected minister. Hill was an excellent classical scholar, and printed in 1715 a small (12mo) collection of Psalms in Latin and Greek from the versions of Dupont and Buchanan, which his pupils had to sing. The copy in the British Museum belonged to Taylor, and the Latin inscription in it runs (Englished): "The gift of his most learned master Thomas Hill the author of the same." Latin was the language of lectures in both the academies Taylor attended, and his own classical knowledge was described by Edward Harwood, in his Funeral Sermon for Taylor, as "almost unrivalled. He could repeat with the greatest facility and correctness the most striking and beautiful passages from the Greek and Roman poets."

None of the tutors at Warrington had the same education as Taylor, which partly accounts for what happened during his association with the Academy.

His first ministerial charge was at Kirkstead Abbey Chapel, near Lincoln, an extra-parochial chapel used for nonconformist worship by the Disney family. Here he spent eighteen years with a small and mainly illiterate congregation, laying more securely the foundations of future scholarship. Amongst the fruits of his studies was a manuscript commentary on the Bible in four volumes, never published. As his salary did not exceed £33 a year, he took boys "to table and teach", but for want of a fire in his study he was in after life crippled with rheumatism—a fact of some importance in his career as a tutor.

From Kirkstead he removed in 1733 to Norwich, a city with which

his name is always associated, and opened the new chapel (The Octagon) 12 May, 1756, with a memorable sermon in which he thanked God "that the studious and active part of my life hath fallen in the glorious reigns of George I and George II, under whom I have had free access to my Bible, and full liberty to publish what I have found there".

He read with his congregation Clarke's *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, which made a deep impression upon him. He had no use for sectarian labels, preferring the simple name of "Christian". His publications were numerous, including "A Collection of Tunes" for the use of his congregation. His *Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin* (1740), which ran into several editions, exercised a remarkable influence throughout the British Isles and America, and was translated (1769) into German. A Presbyterian historian has said ¹ it "was not only one of the standard books of English Arianism, but, estimated by its reputation, one of the masterpieces of eighteenth-century theology". In 1745 appeared his *Paraphrases with Notes on the Epistle to the Romans*, and in 1751 *The Scripture Doctrine of the Atonement*. The first-named was commended by contemporary scholars like Dr. Bentham, divinity professor at Oxford, Bishop Richard Watson and Archdeacon Paley. As with Samuel Clarke, the episcopalian theologian and philosopher, so with John Taylor, "Scripture" qualified and was the source of all "Doctrine". As early as 1724, speaking of the Salters' Hall controversy, he had said: "I think I should not have subscribed; because I am not satisfied it is a means vouchsafed by God for either finding out or ascertaining the truth." "Scripture" was "vouchsafed by God", but Taylor's analytic mind had examined scripture ideas and discovered that many points of theological doctrine which were universally accepted were not to be found in Scripture. His greatest work, the result of fourteen years' toil, was the Hebrew concordance (2 vols. folio) published 1754-7 at the price of three guineas, which barely covered cost of production. "He employed no amanuensis, and his accuracy is equal to his industry. As a lexicographer he deserves praise for the first serious attempt to fix the primitive meaning of Hebrew roots and deduce thence the various uses of terms."² Taylor looked forward with prescience to "proper hands . . . mending the text of the Hebrew bible by consulting the most ancient manuscripts and versions".

Subscribers to the *Concordance* included thirty-seven bishops, Benjamin Kennicott, the eminent Hebrew scholar, John Seddon, of Warrington, and a young, impecunious, and unsuccessful dissenting minister in Suffolk named Joseph Priestley. Early in 1757 Glasgow University, unsolicited, recognized Taylor's scholarship by the conferment of the D.D. degree, speaking in the diploma of his "eruditionem etiam

¹ J. H. Colligan, *The Arian Movement*, p. 97.

² *D.N.B.*, s.v. J. Taylor, by Alex. Gordon.

summum et in Sacris Literis in Linguis Orientalibus ac in omni Theologia peritam”.

Taylor's appointment to the headship of Warrington Academy was a tribute to his reputation, and involved considerable sacrifice on his part, but, as it proved, was most unfortunate. He was sixty-three years of age, in failing health, and the rheumatism had settled on his knees so that he could not walk without crutches. Neither physically, temperamentally, nor academically was he fitted to be principal tutor of an institution designed to experiment in higher education, and not merely to train men for the ministry on the lines of Whitehaven and Findern. None the less, in his own department he was as gifted a teacher as he was learned a scholar. It may be too much to credit Thomas Threlkeld's excellence in Semitics wholly to Taylor, for Threlkeld had a gift of tongues, but he doubtless contributed much to it. Of Threlkeld, Thomas Barnes said, in a Memoir written for the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, “In the Hebrew, with its several dialects, he was profoundly skilled. . . . The writer has occasionally received letters from him in which were passages of Hebrew, which were not less striking for the felicity of their adaptation than for the beautiful manner in which they were written.”

Taylor's opening address at the Academy, repeated year by year, was afterwards included in the preface to a *Scheme of Scripture Divinity* drawn up and printed (1760) for the use of his pupils, published posthumously (1763), and included by Bishop Watson (1785) in *A Collection of Theological Tracts*. From this *Collection* extracts from the *Scheme* were transferred, without acknowledgment, to the edition (1846, 5 vols.) of the *Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, by Herbert Marsh (1757–1839), bishop of Peterborough, who enjoyed a great reputation as a fearless scholar. Taylor's *Scheme* drew upon his *Treatise on Original Sin*, the *Key to the Apostolical Writings* . . ., and the *Scripture Doctrine of the Atonement*, and referred also to his *Treatise on the Lord's Supper*.

The preface to the *Scheme* set forth what may be called the guiding principles of the Academy.

- I. I do solemnly charge you . . . that in all your studies . . . you do constantly, carefully, impartially, and conscientiously, attend to evidence, as it lies in the Holy Scriptures, or in the nature of things and the dictates of reason, cautiously guarding against the sallies of imagination and the fallacy of ill-grounded conjecture.
- II. That you admit, embrace or assent to no principle or sentiment, by me taught or advanced, but only so far as it shall appear to you to be supported and justified by proper evidence from Revelation, or the reason of things.
- III. That if at any time hereafter any principle or sentiment by me taught or advanced, or by you admitted or embraced, shall upon impartial and

faithful examination, appear to you to be dubious or false, you either suspect or totally reject such principle or sentiment.

- IV. That you keep your mind always open to evidence ; that you labour to banish from your breast all prejudice, prepossession and party-zeal ; that you study to live in peace and love with all your fellow-Christians ; and that you steadily assert for yourself, and freely allow to others, the inalienable rights of judgment and conscience.

In class, Taylor used Lowth's *Praelectiones*, and, besides grammatical instruction, drew up a Hebrew vocabulary distinguishing the meanings of synonyms, pointed out the influence of Hebrew idioms on the Greek of the New Testament, and illustrated his observations with quotations from Greek and Latin classics. He lectured on Hebrew once a week throughout the course of five years, and set exercises which he corrected on Saturday mornings. He printed Greek without accents or breathings and Hebrew without points, and probably so taught his pupils.

In his lectures on philosophy, despite his friendship with Leechman, Taylor was a severe critic of Hutcheson, and based his teaching on William Wollaston, whose *Religion of Nature Delineated* (1724) went through many editions. Addendum. [But see note, p. 144]. Taylor printed two pamphlets (1760) as guides for his students: *An Examination of Dr. Hutcheson's Scheme of Morality* (8vo. pp. 64), and *A Sketch of Moral Philosophy* (8vo. pp. 102). In the preface to the second, dated "Sept 3, 1759", he says: "This piece of mine is not a System, but a sketch ; originally designed for young students, only as an Introduction to the reading of Wollaston's *Religion of Nature Delineated*, and now published chiefly for their use." The two treatises were afterwards published with five others in the first volume of *Tracts on Several Important Subjects*, by J. Taylor, D.D., London, 1768.

In philosophy, and even more in his opinions of liturgical services, Taylor was at variance with Seddon, though the latter himself never used a liturgy in his chapel at Warrington. The movement, which led to the publication of a volume of liturgies (1763) in which Seddon had a hand, evoked a vigorous controversy in which Taylor took part, though he did not live to see published his *Scripture Account of Prayer* (1761), said to be "by far the most impressive of his writings", which revealed the Puritan in his character. The way in which this controversy adversely affected the Academy emerges in two letters written at the time. Job Orton, of Shrewsbury, Doddridge's biographer and one-time assistant at Northampton Academy, writing 20 March, 1762, to Samuel Clark, who had been a tutor at Northampton and Daventry, said :

I fear when this Liturgy is published it will be a further injury to Warrington Academy, for I hear that almost all the subscribers in London (which was a considerable number) have withdrawn their subscriptions, seeing what manner of spirit the chief managers are of, and that Mr. Seddon is gone to London to see if he can recover them.

Seddon himself finally declining the invitation of the Octagon congregation to its ministry, writes :

Very early after your present Design was publicly known, there were great pains taken to make the World believe that there was a concealed connection between it, and the Academy at Warrington ; and that the latter was principally instituted, not only to facilitate the introduction of a Liturgy in Liverpool, but to extend it to the neighbouring Congregations ; and gradually to bring it into general use among the Dissenters. . . . Every prudent method was pursued to convince the publick how much it was abused in this invidious representation ; and that it was no more than an Artifice of the Enemies of the Academy, to injure and destroy that useful Institution. . . . It must be acknowledged that a good deal has been done towards removing those prejudices ; but, after all, such is the state of many People's minds, particularly in London ; and that not only amongst the Ministers, but very many considerable persons of the Laity ; that should I engage in the Service of your Church, it wou'd be the means of reviving these prejudices afresh, & fixing them in the minds of those, who are otherwise disposed to befriend our little Seminary in Warrington. I cannot think myself at liberty to hazard the success of an Institution which promises so much publick Utility . . . There are some circumstances in human life in which it is right to yield a little to popular prejudices . . .

John Taylor, notwithstanding his high principles, as a teacher was dictatorial, and not very patient of contradiction from any quarter. Disputes with pupils, colleagues, and trustees must have inevitably led to his resignation had not death intervened. He died suddenly in his sleep, 5 March, 1761, and was buried in the chapel-yard at Chowbent Chapel, Lancashire. In the chapel is a tablet to his memory with an inscription by Dr. William Enfield, and another in the Octagon Chapel, Norwich, with a Latin inscription by Dr. Samuel Parr, the would-be Whig Johnson. Parr, who was a good hand at epitaphs and an excellent judge of scholarship, describes Taylor at Warrington as

“ Senex quotidie aliquid addiscens,
Theologiam et Philosophiam docuit ”.

Thomas Belsham, in his radical days (1809), paid a fine tribute to Taylor as thinker and teacher :

He thought much himself, and he taught others to think ; and though he did not advance so far as others have since done, yet the most enlightened of modern divines would probably not have known so much, or understood the Scriptures so well, if Dr. Taylor had not gone before them to clear the road.

The division amongst the supporters of the Academy which followed the breach between the institution and its first principal tutor was the first blow which the Academy suffered, and it was never healed. As Priestley observed in his Memoirs :

In consequence of it, all his friends, who were numerous, were our enemies ; and too many of the subscribers, being probably weary of the subscription, were willing to lay hold of any pretence for dropping it, and of justifying their conduct afterwards.

The second tutor was a man of a very different calibre from John Taylor ; something of a genius in his way, but what is called in Lanca-

shire "a character". John Holt (1704-72) was Tutor in Natural Philosophy and Mathematics from 1757 until his death in 1772. He had been a student at Glasgow University, minister near Lancaster, and for some time a schoolmaster at Kirkdale, where he educated a number of Liverpool and Manchester merchants. It is clear from Seddon's letter of invitation to him that former pupils of his, interested in the Academy, had recommended his appointment, and that it did not go unchallenged. "Whatever insinuations have been suggested to the contrary", wrote Seddon, "your great abilities, your very amiable character, your having been so long employed in this service, and the honourable and affectionate manner in which your pupils have ever mentioned your name first directed our thoughts this way. . . ."

In addition to his own department, he was responsible for a short time for logic, metaphysics, and history. His acquaintance with metaphysics is said to have been very extensive, and he was particularly exact in requiring the precise definition of terms. Of his judgment Dr. Aikin entertained a very high opinion. The first collection of apparatus which the Academy possessed had been his for half a dozen years, and in the preface to his work on Electricity, Priestley acknowledged his indebtedness to Holt. Of his gifts as a mathematician and of his success in experiments there seems to be no question. Mrs. Barbauld described him as "a sort of reasoning automaton", whose "soul was absorbed by his science". Even in his will (dated 31 December, 1765) his mathematical mania found scope for exercise, and his estate was divided amongst his relatives in strict proportion to their nearness of kin to him, without mentioning a single name, even that of his wife, their shares ranging from "64 parts" to "one part". From a letter of Matthew Nicholson, who entered the Academy at midsummer 1762, we learn that Holt lectured then three times a day: 9-10 a.m. on Fluxions and Conic Sections; 11-12.30 on Natural Philosophy, and again at 1.30 p.m. on Roe's Fluxions, which the writer found "hard".

Holt was an eccentric, a somewhat solitary soul, of whom many stories are told. In temperament he was mild, gentle, and unemotional, hesitant in manner and self-conscious, which may have encouraged unruly pupils in occasional demonstrations to which the Minutes of the Academy bear witness. Of his influence at Warrington few traces remain, though he held his chair for fifteen years, or rather more than half the period during which the Academy existed.

For the tutor in Languages and Belles Lettres, Samuel Dyer, of London, an old student of Northampton Academy, was strongly recommended by Philip Holland, his fellow-student, and by leading divines like Drs. Avery, Ward, Benson, and Chandler. Dyer was a friend of Johnson and figures in Boswell. He declined the invitation. Amongst other candidates considered was Joseph Priestley, then resident at

Needham Market. In a letter to Dr. Benson respecting his recommendation of Priestley, Seddon said :

The Trustees are sensible how desirable it is that their intending tutor should have a steady attachment to the principles of civil and religious liberty. . . . They are not without some apprehension of his being thought too young [he was 24] to sustain the character of a tutor. . . . The subscribers might expect a person, if not more perfectly acquainted in the several parts of learning, yet more known in the world, and longer experienced in life and manners. They are informed, too, that he has some hesitation and interruption in his manner of speaking ; whether it be so considerable as to be worthy of any regard, or how far it might be likely to have an unfortunate effect in forming the voice and manner of the students, they are not able to judge. . . .

The candidate appointed was John Aikin, and the choice proved in every respect excellent. His appointment dated from 11 March, 1758.

John Aikin, M.A. (1713-80), was the son of a Scottish linen-draper settled in London. At a school whose master had been on the stage, he learnt thoroughly, amongst other things, elocution. Being originally intended for a commercial career, he spent a few years in the office of a foreign merchant, where he completely mastered French ; then, turning his thoughts to Law, he made a close study of the constitution and laws of England. Finally in 1732 he entered Northampton Academy as a candidate for the ministry. Thence he proceeded to King's College, Aberdeen, where he graduated M.A. in 1737. At Aberdeen he was firmly grounded in Classics, and became intimate with several members of the staff. " Professor Ogilvie ", we are told,¹ " reports that he was thought very highly of by the professors, and that he was in habits of particular intimacy with the late Professor Thomas Gordon, between whom and his quondam fellow-student a correspondence was kept up, through life." After leaving Aberdeen he returned to Northampton as assistant tutor to Doddridge. In 1739 he entered the ministry, but not long after, suffering from an accident which affected his lungs, he turned schoolmaster, and eventually settled at Kibworth, where he married the daughter of John Jennings, formerly Doddridge's tutor. She was a cultured lady, and her grandparents on the spindle side were Sir Francis Wingate, Kt., and Lady Ann Annesley, daughter of the first Earl of Anglesey. As a schoolmaster Aikin was most successful ; amongst his pupils were Thomas Robins, successor to Caleb Ashworth at Daventry Academy, John Simpson, student at Warrington and Glasgow University, Thomas Belsham, Robins' successor at Daventry and later tutor at Hackney College ; Dr. Thomas Cogan, of Hoxton Academy and Leyden University, one of the founders of the Humane Society, and his own son John Aikin, M.D., student at Warrington, Edinburgh and Leyden, afterwards a lecturer at Warrington Academy.

Aikin had a most gracious and winning personality, with many

¹ *Monthly Repository*, viii, 163 (1813).

friends and no enemies. He published nothing except a preface, in Latin, to his son's *Selections from Pliny*, a note in his *Biographical Memoirs of Medicine*, and a few articles in the *Monthly Review*, but the tributes to his character and scholarship from those who knew him well are equally remarkable. Greatly to his surprise, for he was a man of conspicuous modesty, King's College, Aberdeen, conferred on him the degree of D.D., 12 May, 1774, and eighteen days later the same degree was given him by Marischal College. His one-time colleague, Gilbert Wakefield, said of him : ¹ " Dr. Aikin was a gentleman whose endowments, as a man and a scholar, according to my sincere judgment of him, it is not easy to exaggerate by panegyric. In his life he was rigorously virtuous, and, when I knew him, under a self-government as perfect as a participation of human weaknesses will allow. . . . He was benevolent and candid in all his judgments on the character of others ; of great hospitality, as I myself experienced ; quick to discern and ready to acknowledge merit, wherever it resided ; not tenacious of his own opinions, but patiently attentive, beyond almost any man I ever knew, to the reasonings of an opponent ; perfectly open to conviction, of an affability ; softened by a modest opinion of himself, that endeared him to all ; and a politeness of demeanour seldom found even in an elevated station. His intellectual attainments were of a very superior quality indeed. His acquaintance with all the evidences of revelation, with morals, politics, and metaphysics was most accurate and extensive. . . . He understood the Hebrew and French languages to perfection ; and had an intimacy with the best authors of Greece and Rome, superior to what I have ever known in a dissenting minister." Thomas Barnes, an old pupil of the Academy, in a paper on " The Affinity between the Arts " read before the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, 9 January, 1782, after mentioning Newton, Boyle, Locke, Barrow, Haller, and Watts as men who " occasionally wandered into other walks of Science and brought from thence treasures to enrich their favourite stores ", spoke of " the late Dr. Aikin, than whom few have had mental treasures more various, or more valuable ". Then in a footnote, he added : " Though unknown to the world at large as an author, his modesty having unhappily prevented him from appearing in print, he was uncommonly revered by all that knew him, for the wonderful extent of his knowledge, for the mild dignity of his character, and for the various excellencies which adorned the Scholar, the Tutor, and the Man." Dr. Andrew Kippis, in 1793, said ² that Aikin, " as a lecturer was perhaps never excelled. This is the testimony that has been uniformly given of him by all who had the advantage of being his pupils."

Such, in the estimate of those who knew him best, was John Aikin,

¹ *Life of G. Wakefield*, i, 219 ff.

² *Biographia Britannica*, vol. v, art. " Philip Doddridge ".

who served the Academy for twenty-three years, first as Tutor in Languages and Belles Lettres and then as Tutor in Divinity.

From 1758 to 1761, when he became divinity tutor, he had two classes in French, gave lectures on grammar, oratory, and criticism and took over from Holt the classes in Logic and History. When lecturing on classics, "one or two lectures were usually devoted by him", said one of his students, "to some general account of the author, the period in which he lived, the occasion of his writing, with remarks on the species of composition". "Then followed translation by the pupils corrected by the tutor, with illustrations of the argument. Books were chosen not generally read in Schools, preference being given to those which bore some relation to the leading objects of the pupils' other studies. In history, for instance, he chose such portions of Herodotus as might illustrate those parts of the Old Testament which were connected with Assyria and Egypt." Choice was made of portions of books for particular purposes; e.g. "the fine orations of Thucydides, Plato, and Lysias; the contest between Demosthenes and Æschines; the philosophical and ethical treatises of Plato, Aristotle, Epictetus, Marcus Antoninus, and Maximus Tyrius; with Aristotle's Poetics and Rhetoric, and Longinus. In poetry, the Odyssey in preference to the Iliad, some parts of Hesiod, and the three Greek Tragedians, of whom he was very fond. In Latin, Lucretius, Lucan, Statius, Persius, and Juvenal among the poets, the philosophical and moral treatises of Cicero and Seneca, Tacitus, the two Plinys and Quintilian, in prose." "In reading the philosophical treatises of the ancients, he enlarged so much as to render his lectures almost a second course, in a varied form, of natural religion and ethics."¹

Shortly after his appointment as divinity tutor, Aikin enquired through a colleague from Seddon (9 April, 1762) "whether Dr. Doddridge's lectures were printing", and announced his intention of reading them "printed or not printed".² The enquiry was repeated next month without a favourable reply. He therefore used a manuscript copy, and in so doing "reported the various schemes of the numerous authors referred to by Doddridge, and of those who have published since Doddridge's death".³ Throughout the course he freely criticized the text-book, and indeed strongly objected to some parts of it, e.g. "to the presupposition of evidence, external and internal, which may be expected to attend a divine revelation, as a sort of begging the question".

John Simpson, speaking of the period of his studies 1761-5, states that "Dr. Aikin used some printed text-book for most of his lectures, for others he had written analyses or hints of his own, upon all these he enlarged much in his discourse, with great fluency, propriety, and impression. His modes of illustration were uncommonly distinct and

¹ *Monthly Repository*, viii, 165.

² *Christian Reformer*, 1854.

³ "Memoir of W. Turner", *Christian Reformer*, xv, 355 (1859).

various, and pointedly adapted to the different talents of his pupils. He was always interesting and frequently animated. He stated the arguments on both sides of any disputed point with great clearness and precision. After this, his custom was to stop, and say: 'Gentlemen, have I explained the subject to your satisfaction?' or some equivalent expression. Anyone who did not fully comprehend him was asked to state his difficulty. He then, in order to illustrate further, proceeded upon a quite different mode of explanation, which he would vary again, if requested by any present. In any disputed point of metaphysics, morals, or theology, he avoided any dictatorial declaration of his own opinion, and freely encouraged his pupils to form their own. When any student embraced a sentiment different from what he imagined to be his tutor's, he without any scruple maintained it, together with his reasons for it. A difference of opinion in the pupil produced no diminution of regard in the tutor, or of attention to his instructions."

By the employment of these methods, with the small classes such as Aikin generally had, the lecture room became something more resembling the modern university seminar. Frequently, too, over a cup of tea in his home, students would set before him the difficulties of their studies, and seek his opinion of books and of courses of reading, so that his tutorial work did not begin and end in the classroom.

With the appointment of Joseph Priestley, then of Nantwich, in 1761, as Tutor in Languages and Belles Lettres, another man of genius was added to the staff of the Academy. Happily numerous biographical studies of him make unnecessary any reference to his earlier or later career, though it may not be quite superfluous to mention that, like Holt and Aikin, Priestley had been a successful schoolmaster before becoming tutor at the Academy.

Under Aikin the Divinity course was slightly rearranged. During the first two years, Belles Lettres and Philosophy were given a greater part of the students' time—probably owing to the new appointment. Priestley was responsible for Classics, Logic (in which Watts was the text-book), the Study of History, and the Theory of Languages and Universal Grammar. For the last named, he had his lectures printed at the expense of the Academy.

The Theory of Languages and Universal Grammar (Warrington, 1762) consisted originally of nineteen lectures. Illustrations are given from Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, French and Malayan, but students were required to copy the foreign scripts in spaces left vacant for the purpose. At the end of the lectures is given a list of books used by the lecturer.

In an Appendix to the *Memoirs of Priestley*, his son includes an analysis of these lectures "because this work does not appear to have been much known beyond the circle of his students", and calls attention to the fact that his father mentioned in the prefixed advertisement

that "if these lectures should happen to fall into other hands than those for whom they were intended, they must only be regarded as the heads of discourses to be enlarged upon by the lecturer at the time of delivery". The year after its publication the work was adopted as a text-book at Hoxton Academy by Dr. Kippis, who gave three introductory lectures and notes on each of the original lectures. Priestley valued these notes so highly that he declared in the preface to *Lectures on History and General Policy* (1788) that if he published this course of lectures he would add them. He never did so, but Rutt, in his edition of Priestley's Works, published the lectures and notes from a copy made by the Rev. Russell Scott whilst a student at Hoxton. Priestley's little volume is exceedingly scarce.

The Rudiments of the English Language . . . with Notes and Observations, 1768, consisted of two parts. Part I was the *Rudiments*, which Priestley had published seven years earlier, when at Nantwich. It has been described by a modern educationalist¹ as "marked by a common-sense parsimony of technical terms very unusual in writers on the subject, and by a deference to customary usage which would shock a pedant". It certainly filled a gap in manuals of English for schools, and anticipated by a month Lowth's *Short Introduction to English Grammar*,² which Priestley modestly admitted was a better book than his own. Part II, which is much the larger, *Notes and Observations*, was entirely new. The "Observations" are upon parts of speech, illustrated with examples from many writers, mostly modern, of correct and incorrect usages and expressions, and the attempt is made to exhibit the real character of the language and its tendencies. David Hume, so frequently in the pillory for gallicisms and peculiarities of style, admitted that he learnt much from it. Priestley was neither a philologist in the modern sense of the word, nor yet a writer of good English, but his "Notes and Observations" reveal much shrewd common sense. His purpose was similar to that of the scholarly and authoritative *Dictionary of Modern English Usage*, by H. W. Fowler, though the book is not cast in dictionary form, and is destitute of the charm, humour, and scholarship of the modern work. It would be hard to say what better book to serve the end in view could have been placed in the hands of the Warrington students.

A Course of Lectures on Oratory and Criticism, first published in 1777, consisted in the main of lectures delivered by Priestley at Warrington, 1762-7. He admits his indebtedness to Dr. Ward's *Oratory*, and that much of what he had given his pupils in that part was omitted as "more trite than the rest". Dr. John Ward had published his

¹ J. W. Adamson, art. "Education", *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, xiv, 396.

² Wesley's remark (*Journal*, v, 370), "I wonder he would publish it after Bp. Lowth's", is based upon ignorance of the facts.

lectures (*A System of Oratory*, 2 vols.) given at Gresham College, in 1759.

Lectures on elocution were not delivered by Priestley in this course at Warrington, but would have been, he said, if he had stayed there a little longer. There are ten lectures on Oratory and twenty-five on Criticism. "It may be thought by some", says the author, "that these Lectures are much too short, and too concisely written, for the purpose of public instruction. But they should be apprized that it was my custom to write down only the outlines of what I delivered in the class; that for the benefit of my pupils, I used to attend them with more copious illustrations, and a greater variety of examples, hearing their remarks or objections, and explaining more distinctly what they appear not to have clearly understood." Priestley wrote out "a short connected text" from which he spoke extemporarily—a method, he says, "which engages the attention unspeakably more than formally reading everything from notes". He then "left a fair copy of what he had written in the lecture-room, that students should study it at leisure".

Here we have Priestley's method of teaching in his own words. The published work consisted of "the connected notes with some improvements". Authors are quoted in French and Latin, and the references to English writers are numerous. The history of criticism is grounded on Hartley's theory of human nature, and gains little in consequence. Hartley may almost be said to have been one of Priestley's false idols. He ranked his *Observations on Man* (1749) next to the Bible. Priestley's discussion of "The Pleasures of the Imagination etc" is original and judicious. One passage in these lectures is probably an implicit reference to Peter Annet, who, for remarks on the Pentateuch, was condemned (November, 1762) to confinement in Newgate for a month, was twice placed in the pillory, and then imprisoned for a year. Priestley at school had learnt Annet's system of shorthand, and corresponded with him. He even wrote something resembling verse in commendation of the script, which Annet prefixed to the second edition of his system. Priestley's words are indicative of the large measure of toleration with which he imbued his pupils—a measure secured by law only late in the nineteenth century. "It would", he said, "no doubt, be for the advantage of Christianity if unbelievers had nothing to fear from proposing all their objections to it in the most open and public manner."

Priestley always encouraged his pupils to write verse, "not with any design to make them poets, but to give them a greater facility in prose".

His chief innovation in the curriculum was the introduction of lectures on "History and General Policy", on the "Laws and Constitution of England", and on the "History of England". He gives his reason for it. It was "in consequence of observing that, though most of our

pupils were young men designed for situations in civil and active life, every article in the plan of their education was adapted to the learned professions". To further the new studies Priestley published in 1765 his *Essay on a Course of Liberal Education for Civil and Active Life . . . With Syllabuses of three courses of Lectures* on "The Study of History", "The History of England", and "The Laws of England". Herein he sets out in brief the nature of education in the past "from the grammar school to the university", the part played by the clergy in shaping its character—"rhetoric, logic, and school-divinity", and the change in life and its objects in more recent times. The objection to the studies proposed is met thus: "Only tyrants, and the friends of arbitrary power, have ever taken umbrage at a turn for political knowledge, and political discourses, among even the lowest of the people. . . . Their sentiments are not wholly insignificant, and a wise minister will ever pay some attention to them."

The method by which Priestley taught historical subjects has been described by one of his pupils, and it corresponds closely with that which he recommends teachers to adopt in his published *Essay*.

After speaking of the method of lecturing, the encouragement of questions, the students' use of the lecturer's notes, and his examination of their knowledge of one lecture before proceeding to the next, he concludes: "Upon every subject of importance, let the tutor make reference to the principal authors who have treated of it, and, if the subject be a controverted one, let him refer to books written on both sides of the question. Of these references let the tutor occasionally require an account, and sometimes a written abstract. Lastly, let the tutor select a proper number of the most important questions that can arise from the subject of the lectures, and let them be proposed to the students as exercises, to be treated in the form of orations, theses, or dissertations, as he shall think fit."

When the *Essay* was published, he added "Remarks on Dr. Brown's *Thoughts on Civil Liberty*" (1765), which recommended that education should be undertaken by the state. Priestley was opposed to this, and, in his own words, showed "how inimical it was to liberty and the natural rights of parents". This may now seem somewhat absurd, but not if we recall the control by the established church of education in the eighteenth century, or of the modern German state control of schools and universities.

A Chart of Biography was also published by Priestley in 1765, which procured for its author the degree of Doctor of Laws from Edinburgh University. It was dedicated to Lord Willoughby, of Parham, though it appeared after his death, since he had encouraged its publication, and it "had stood six months after it was engraved". The period covered is 1200 B.C. to A.D. 1700. *A Description* accompanied it, and a

Catalogue of all the names inserted in it with dates. It is an excellent example of its kind. It was characteristic of Priestley that in his *Description* he moralized on the differences between "a tablet of merit" and "a tablet of fame", and pointed to the eventual cancelling of the latter in favour of the former, and to the need "to have our names written on the tablet of real merit, though as yet concealed from human view". Priestley also used a French chart of history in class, which formed the basis of *A New Chart of History* published in 1779.

The *Lectures on History and General Policy*, not published until 1788, were recommended at Cambridge by John Symonds, Professor of Modern History. They consisted of sixty-nine lectures given at the Academy, and were published at the request of former pupils, to one of whom, Benjamin Vaughan, they were dedicated. The book is divided into five parts.

- I. The General Uses of History.
- II. The Sources of History.
- III. What is necessary or Useful to be known previous to the Study of History.
- IV. Directions for the more Easy Acquiring and Retaining of a Knowledge of History.
- V. Proper Objects of Attention to an Historian.

A sixth part was contemplated giving "a general view of history, civil and ecclesiastical", but Priestley expressed himself as "content to refer to Holberg, or some other epitome of general history". *An Introduction to the History of the Nations of Europe* (1711) was the first work of Baron Holberg (1684-1754), "the founder of Danish literature and the greatest of Danish authors". In the preface to his *Lectures*, Priestley warns the reader that in the subject of "General Policy" brought under Part V nothing more must be expected than the "outline of this branch of knowledge. For general principles are all that can be taught at a place of education." The lectures afford us a peep into his classroom. In Lecture XI on the "Method of Computation by Eclipses", he says: "I made this lecture a short one, because I used to produce in the course of it calculations of several past eclipses, to illustrate the principles of it"; in Lecture XVIII he refers to the Chart of History, and mentions that Chronological Tables, etc., as aids to memory, were exhibited and explained during the lecture; and in Lecture XIX, "On Fortifications", he gives no particulars of his notes, saying: "My custom was to explain the model (cut in wood), without having anything written to read on the subject, but mentioning books which explained the terms used".

The course is remarkably comprehensive. The fifth part, including over thirty lectures, covered "sources of population, security and happiness; such as Government, Law, Agriculture, Commerce, Finance, Manners, and Religion". As he confessed: "I endeavoured to bring into it as many articles of miscellaneous knowledge as I could, in order to

enlarge the minds of young men, and to give them liberal views of many important subjects, and such as could not well be brought before them in any other course". In this section are hints of reforms, realized only in our own day. Speaking of the relief of the poor, he says: "The best method would perhaps be to oblige the poor to provide for themselves by appropriating a certain proportion of their wages to that use. . . . As they must have a present subsistence, this would only be giving them a better price for their labour, and would ultimately be a tax on the produce of that labour. But it would be a better tax, and far less expensive than the present poor rates." This is not an outline of our present State Unemployed Insurance, but it is a suggested move in that direction.

Naturally, Priestley, like all lecturers on history, was much indebted to earlier writers, and the work is not easily assigned to any branch of history as understood to-day. There is, however, evidence in it of research, and Alexander Gordon, after a critical study of it, said: "Priestley directed attention to original unpublished sources of history, though how he got to know them, I cannot tell." The imperfections of the lectures are due in part to non-culpable ignorance common to the period in which they were delivered, and in part to the style and temperament of the lecturer. Yet the volume can still be read with profit, and, for its day, provided a valuable introduction to history, especially to constitutional history.

Priestley's object in all his teaching, like Aikin's, was to induce the students to examine and decide questions for themselves uninfluenced by the opinions of others. His written lectures he permitted students to take and read at home at leisure. Those on Rhetoric he allowed them to copy, those on History, to read only, as he intended to publish them. From notes in shorthand he dictated to each student, in turn, one of the lectures, and the pupil copied it in longhand if he knew no shorthand. . . . An extant letter to Seddon from Benjamin Vaughan (25 July, 1767) speaks of the lectures on "Oratory and Criticism", which he and another student had copied, and how he resented a letter from Mrs. Priestley requiring them to be kept private, as, he urged, the copies had been made by permission and at great trouble.

Not only were such methods of teaching as Priestley's peculiar to Warrington, but also the study of history, except in the form of Chronology, which had been neglected in the earlier academies.

Dr. Martineau, in a critical estimate of Priestley's life and work, said:¹ "At Warrington he gave himself up with astonishing energy to the preparation of lectures on the theory of language, on oratory and the belles lettres, on history and general policy—a class of topics almost entirely new to him, and for excellence in which there was little provision

¹ *Essays and Reviews*, i, 15.

in the predominant qualities of his mind. Yet what he wanted of the critic's delicate perception he compensated by the philosopher's comprehensive views; and though his labours in these departments may not be destined to live, there is in his treatment of his subjects a breadth and philosophical spirit, which contrast favourably with the small and superficial criticism of his predecessors in the same field."

Other subjects, as yet unnamed, for which Priestley was responsible at different times, were Italian, Philosophical Criticism, and Civil Law, the last being taken over from Dr. Aikin. He also gave in one of the first two years a course on Anatomy consisting of twenty lectures.

Warrington Academy cannot claim to have first awakened Priestley's interest in Science; he cultivated it in his school at Nantwich. But the Academy introduced him to the particular science in which he afterwards became most famous, and it opened the way directly and indirectly to his entering the circle of scientists, brought his writings to the notice of contemporaries, and provided him with an incentive for research which remained to the end of life.

His attention was first directed to Chemistry by Matthew Turner, who from 1763 to 1765 lectured on the subject in the Academy. The Annual Report of 1763 says: "This last spring Mr. Turner, of Liverpool, a gentleman deservedly esteemed for his skill as a chemist, went through a full course of practical and commercial Chemistry in the Academy, very much to the satisfaction of all who attended it. Mr. Turner will continue to favour the Academy with his assistance as often as shall be thought convenient."

Matthew Turner (d. 1788?) is described¹ as "a good surgeon, a skilful anatomist, a practised chemist, a draughtsman, a classical scholar, and a ready wit", who "formed one of a group of eminently intellectual men, who did much to foster a literary and artistic taste among the more educated classes at Liverpool". It has been claimed that "he rediscovered the art of staining glass."²

It is not known how and when he accumulated this lore, nor what university honoured him with the doctorate generally credited to him, but he practised surgery at Liverpool and lectured on Anatomy. One of his patients was Josiah Wedgwood, the potter, to whom he introduced one who became his most intimate friend and partner in business, Thomas Bentley, a leading Liverpool supporter of the Academy. Turner was introduced to the Academy by Priestley, the friend of both Wedgwood and Bentley. In politics, Turner was a republican, and in religion, though more guardedly, an atheist. One of his anonymous tracts (1782) attacked Priestley's argument from design.

It was Seddon who opened the way for Priestley to join a famous

¹ E. Meteyard, *Life of Josiah Wedgwood*, i, 300.

² James Boardman, *Table Talk of the Olden Time*, Liverpool, 1886, p. 19.

circle of scientists in London. Writing to John Canton, F.R.S., 18 December, 1765, he said :¹

As my friend Dr. Priestley, Tutor in the Languages and Belles Lettres here, is going up to town, and has a great desire of being introduced to you, I have undertaken to do him this kind office, not depending so much upon the small acquaintance I have with you myself as encouraged to it by the polite and obliging manner in which I once had the pleasure of being received by you. You will probably have some knowledge of my friend as author of a Chart of Biography, and of an Essay on Education, in which he animadvertes upon Dr. Brown. You will find him a benevolent sensible man, with a considerable share of learning. Besides the studies which belong to his profession, he has a taste for Natural Philosophy, which will not render him less agreeable to you. . . .

This sojourn during the Christmas vacation in London proved one of the most agreeable and momentous events in Priestley's life. In a letter to a friend, 14 February, 1766, he alludes to it, and to his "most agreeable acquaintance with Dr. Franklin . . . and other philosophers and electricians. I have been engaged by them to write a Treatise on Electricity . . ." In his *Memoirs* he gives a slightly different version. "I mentioned to Dr. Franklin an idea that had occurred to me of writing the history of electricity, and told him that I would willingly undertake it, provided I could be furnished with the books necessary for the purpose. This he readily undertook . . . I set about the work, without having the least idea of doing anything more than writing a distinct and methodical account of all that had been done by others. Having, however, a pretty good machine, I was led, in the course of writing the history, to endeavour to ascertain several facts which were disputed, and this led me by degrees into a large field of original experiments, in which I spared no expense . . . I kept up a constant correspondence with my philosophical friends in London, and my letters circulated among them all, as also every part of my *History* as it was transcribed."

Priestley was admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society, June, 1766, on the recommendation of Canton, Price, Watson, and Franklin. In support of his application he submitted a letter of ten folio pages giving an account of his experiments, afterwards included in his published volumes.

The History and Present State of Electricity, with Original Experiments (Dudley, 4to, £1 1s.) was published in 1767, the preface being dated "March 1" of that year. It was divided into eight parts. The History of Electricity takes up more than half the volume. An account is given of different theories of electricity, hints are added for its improvement, the constitution of electrical machines is discussed, and some practical advice tendered to young students of the subject, with descriptions of experiments by others. A section deals with the application of electricity to medicine, and his own experiments are set forth in

¹ *Christian Reformer*, 1861, pp. 44-5.

some detail. He confesses that he more than once received shocks which he would not choose to receive again from batteries, then regarded as producing the greatest force known. His experiments were numerous, considering that the earliest is dated at the beginning of 1766. He transmitted shocks through the bodies of animals, but admitted that "it is paying dear for philosophical discoveries to purchase them at the expense of humanity".

In his *Memoirs* Priestley reminded "those who have objected to some of his later writings as hasty performances" that "none of his publications were better received than this *History of Electricity*, which was the most hasty of them all." Sir P. J. Hartog said: ¹ "Priestley's electrical work is mostly sound, and much of it brilliant. It shows him at his best, although the discoveries contained therein are of less importance in the history of science than his later discoveries in chemistry. . . . The style contrasts favourably with the excessive fluency of much of his purely literary work. But after 1770 Priestley practically abandoned the study of electricity for chemistry."

So much for Priestley's work in and for the Academy. Most of it fell within the first two years of the course. During the same time, Aikin taught only Hebrew in the divinity course, and gave a few lectures on the languages of the Scriptures. In the third year, besides conducting classes in Ontology, Pneumatology, and Ethics, Aikin, who had an extensive acquaintance with Jurisprudence, lectured on this subject "so far as it is derived from the same sources as the doctrines of Natural Religion and Private Morality". When there were students reading for Law in the Academy, "he more than once read with them Justinian's Institutes".² Critical lectures by Aikin on the Scriptures completed the divinity course for the third year.

In the fourth year a notable addition was Church History—otherwise the course was the same as under Taylor. The fifth year was employed in Jewish Antiquities, Ecclesiastical History, pastoral care, etc., and "students were at liberty to refresh their memories by attending any part of the course of the four former years". The course was lighter this year, for students were sent out preaching. During the session 1780-1, William Turner was "much occupied" in this way, and his father regretted it "as calculated to consume time that would have been better employed in storing his mind".

The prohibition of preaching by divinity students as supplies in chapels near and far until their last year distinguished Warrington from earlier academies, and especially from those training evangelical ministers, which sent them out almost from the beginning of their course. Warrington was not, however, unmindful of the needs of chapels in the county, and many of the smaller congregations were kept alive

¹ *D.N.B.*, *sub voce*.

² Academy Report, 1762.

by the Academy. Even student pastorates were not unknown. Ralph Harrison, who entered the Academy at the age of fifteen, four years later became the regular preacher at Hale Chapel, Cheshire, either taking the services himself or providing the supply, and in a Trust Deed, 17 May, 1769, just before he ended his charge of the congregation, he is actually described as "Ralph Harrison, Clerk".¹

Homiletics were not neglected at Warrington, nor yet the study of the Bible in the original tongues after Dr. Taylor died. During the whole course, divinity students had one lecture weekly on the Hebrew scriptures, and one on the Greek Testament, "in which the students construed successively their respective portions of the sacred text, and Dr. Aikin entered into a minute, critical, doctrinal, and practical explanation of each passage". "Every Saturday they were expected to bring the exercises which had been prescribed . . . first-year men, essays on subjects connected with their course, or Latin translations, or short essays in that language"; in the second or third year, schemes or skeletons of sermons, and sometimes critical dissertations. These were read by the students and carefully criticized by the tutor. . . . After the exercises were examined, he would generally turn to some of the finest passages of the English poets, Milton, Pope, Thomson, Young, and Akenside, and having first read a considerable portion, he heard each of the students read, pointed out their defects and the proper mode of remedying them. This lecture was often the most satisfactory and improving of any in the whole course".²

In his *Education among the Dissenters*, 1769, Priestley compared the training of dissenting ministers with that of clergymen of the established church. He admits that "their ministers, though in general inferior in classical knowledge, are not inferior to them in philosophical knowledge, and are probably superior to them with respect to theology and an acquaintance with the Scriptures. . . . The method in which clergymen are educated at the English universities is certainly less adapted to make them divines than the discipline and course of study provided for Dissenters, besides that many of our Students, after attending the usual time at our English academies, finish their studies at Edinburgh or Glasgow."

Priestley spoke only from his experience as a student at Daventry and as a tutor at Warrington, and without first-hand knowledge of the English universities. Nevertheless it would not be easy to gainsay his judgment of the courses of study pursued respectively by ordinands and by candidates for the dissenting ministry at this period.

In 1762 the Academy moved into larger quarters in what is now known as "Academy Place"³—a brick building, with stone copings

¹ Alex. Gordon, *The Story of Hale Chapel*, p. 20.

² *Monthly Repository*, viii, 165 ff.

³ H. A. Bright, *Ut supra*.

and a clock and bell turret in the centre, connected with the tutors' houses, and providing accommodation for teachers and pupils in a quadrangle of collegiate appearance.

Priestley had four boarders, and a student in 1764 with a single room, paid £18 for board-residence a session. Two of the houses still stand, one on each side of the Square, formerly occupied by Priestley and Enfield. Aikin, whose state of health did not permit him to take in boarders, lived near the Academy in Butter-market Street. In 1767, by further buildings acquired, at a cost of £1,700, accommodation for students (25 rooms in all), previously boarded with tutors, was provided. In 1779 we hear of other additions. Turner, writing to his brother, 6 May, 1779, says :

We are going to have great alterations here. The other wing of the Academy will soon be built, and we shall then have a perfect square.

The students' quarters occupied the west side of the Square, and remained until Holt Street was made in 1898. Names of students and poetical effusions scratched with diamonds were found on panes of glass when removed. The rest of the buildings had disappeared in 1865.

It is of this second Academy building that Mrs. Barbauld wrote in her " Epistle to Dr. Enfield on His Revisiting Warrington in 1789 " :

Lo there where Science loved to dwell,
Where Liberty her ardent spirit breathed ;
While each glad Naiad from her secret cell
Her native sedge with classic honours wreathed.

O seats beloved in vain ! Your rising dome
With what fond joy my youthful eyes surveyed,
Pleased by your sacred springs to find my home,
And tune my lyre beneath your growing shade.

The expansion of the Academy apparently prompted Seddon to approach indirectly his *alma mater* with a view to procuring a doctorate for one of the staff. A Glasgow friend, whose wife had recently stayed with the Seddons, wrote, 4 November, 1762, of a conversation on the point : " She spoke both to Mr. Leechman and Mr. Muirhead at different times of it, and they both said the same thing, that they never chused [*sic*] to confer them on any person, except on those . . . remarkable in the literary way." The tutor Seddon desired to see honoured is unnamed. It would hardly be Aikin, a graduate of Aberdeen whose honorary degrees from there came later, and highly improbable that it was Holt. It was probably Priestley, who had settled at Warrington, a year earlier, and was winning golden opinions, but had published nothing save a small tract on *The Scripture Doctrine of Remission*, 1761. His degree came from Edinburgh three years later.

The migration of the Academy into larger premises plunged it into debt, and was one of the contributory causes of its ultimate dissolution. Moreover, whilst it had put an end to an occasional practice of a student, finding the discipline in one house irksome, removing to another, it opened the way for other abuses more objectionable.¹

The period 1762-70 was "the golden age of the Academy", "and of these years the earlier ones to 1767 (when Priestley removed to Leeds) were the brightest and the happiest".²

As Tutor in Languages and Belles Lettres, Priestley revised the course, and at his suggestion, also, exercises were introduced in elocution.

"Every Saturday the tutors, all the students and often strangers were assembled to hear English and Latin compositions, and sometimes to hear the delivery of speeches, and the exhibitions of scenes in plays." ³

"The public academical exercises" at the end of the session, also originated by Priestley, and continued after he left, consisted of "translations from Greek, Latin, and French authors, and Orations or Dissertations, which were delivered in English and Latin and French wherein a particular attention was paid to the manner of reading and speaking." ⁴

As illustrations of the subjects of Orations delivered by senior students on these occasions, the following are of interest in themselves and by reason of their authors :

(1) "An Inquiry into the effect which the opinions of the principal sects of the ancient philosophers might be supposed to have in promoting or preventing the reception and progress of the Christian religion in the world." Delivered by Thomas Barnes, afterwards theological tutor at the Manchester Academy, 1786-98.

(2) "An attempt to illustrate, in several important instances, the salutary effect of the Christian religion in improving the laws, customs, manners, and religion of the several nations where it hath been received." Delivered by Ralph Harrison, afterwards Tutor in Belles Lettres at Manchester Academy, 1786-9.

(3) "Salus populi suprema lex. Or an essay to show how far the several forms of government which may have been introduced in the world are calculated to promote the happiness of mankind, which is the great end of government." By John Prior Estlin, who became the friend of Coleridge, Southey, and Robert Hall.

(4) "An Enquiry into the effect of civilization on the real improvement and happiness of mankind ; in which the principles of Mr. Rousseau upon the subject are considered." Delivered by Henry Beaufoy, who was to be for many years an active Whig M.P. Beaufoy's *Oration* pleased his father so much that he published it.

¹ See pp. 91, 97.

³ Rutt's ed. of Priestley's *Works*, i, Part I, 53-4.

² H. A. Bright, *Ut supra*.

⁴ Academy Report, 1772.

TIME TABLE ¹ (c. 1778)

Hours.	Monday.	Tuesday.	Wednesday.	Thursday.	Friday.	Saturday.	Sunday.
7	Prayers	Prayers	Prayers	Prayers	Prayers	Prayers	Prayers
8	Arithmetic, Bookkeeping Breakfast	Arithmetic, Bookkeeping Breakfast	Arithmetic, Bookkeeping Breakfast	Arithmetic, Bookkeeping Breakfast	Arithmetic, Bookkeeping Breakfast	Ancient Geo- graphy Breakfast	—
9	Algebra	Trigonometry	Trigonometry	Algebra	Algebra	Public Lecture	Breakfast
10	Greek Testa- ment	Logic, Ethics, etc.	Logic, Ethics, etc.	Logic, Ethics, etc.	Theology	Scheme Lec- ture	—
11	Geometry ¹ ² ³	English — Conic Sections.	Geometry ¹ ² ³	Conic Sections — English	Geometry ¹ ² ³	—	Divine Service
12	Writing	Drawing	Writing	Drawing	Writing	Geography Theological Society	—
1	Dinner	Dinner	Dinner	Dinner	Dinner	Dinner	Dinner
2	Classics	Classics	Classics	Classics	Classics	—	—
3	French	French	French	French	French	—	—
4	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	—	—
5	Anatomy or Chemistry	—	—	Anatomy or Chemistry	Hebrew	—	—
6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7	Composition Society	Speaking Club	Book Club	Classical Club	Divinity Club	—	—
8	Supper	Supper	Supper	Supper	Supper	Supper	Supper
9	Prayers	Prayers	Prayers	Prayers	Prayers	Prayers	Prayers

N.B.—Evening Prayers are now at 7. Several Societies after Supper.

¹ Wilson's *Memorials*, II, p. 39, at New College, Hampstead.

Sermons, translations of classical texts, and the delivery of "Orations" in English and Latin at the closing proceedings of academies had been common. In no earlier academy had French been the language of an "Oration", and in none were they given on "Forms of Government", or the "Principles of Mr. Rousseau".

Though Beaufoy did not idolize Rousseau, it may be said in general that the influence of the famous Frenchman in the Academy was not an unmixed blessing; either for the youths who delivered "Orations", the maidens who applauded them, or even the tutor who inspired them, being, as he was, more conspicuous for versatility and originality than for critical acumen or philosophical judgment.

In an *Essay on the First Principles of Government and on the Nature of Political, Civil, and Religious Liberty*, published in 1768, Priestley quoted with approval the maxim "*Salus Populi Suprema Lex*", and, unlike earlier Presbyterians, justified its application to Charles I, though regretting "that the sentence could not be pronounced by the whole nation, or their representatives solemnly assembled for that purpose—a transaction which would have been an immortal honour to this country, whenever that superstitious notion of the sacredness of kingly power shall be abolished". Political liberty he defined as consisting "in the power which members of the state reserve to themselves of arriving at public offices, or, at least, of having votes in the nomination of those who fill them", Civil liberty as "that power over their own actions which members of the state reserve to themselves, and which their officers must not infringe". In discussing "religious liberty", he pleaded for a full toleration of "papists", a plea then rejected not only by politicians and ecclesiastics of every party and church, but also by many of his own personal friends. Archdeacon Blackburne, whose son as a student had boarded with Priestley, expressed his horror of such doctrine. Upon learning this, Priestley wrote to Lindsey, Blackburne's son-in-law:

I should be very sorry if the Archdeacon should think more unfavourably of the Academy and those who conduct it. As far as I can recollect, I was singular in my opinion concerning the toleration of Papists. Mr. Aikin, I know, was against me.

Priestley resigned his tutorship in the summer of 1767, not, as Lord Brougham said in his *Lives of Men of Letters and Science* (1845-6), "in consequence of a disagreement with the Warrington trustees", for in a letter to them he expressed "his just sense of the generous manner in which he had been treated, and his desire of doing everything in his power to contribute to the reputation and success of the Academy". With a young wife whose health was delicate, a child, a stipend insufficient to meet his needs, and a feeling of insecurity, Priestley accepted a call to Mill Hill Chapel, Leeds, and removed there in September 1767. His resignation, unfortunately, gave such offence to Liverpool supporters of the Academy that many threatened to withdraw their subscriptions

to it, and he felt compelled to explain to his friends there the reasons for his withdrawal. Priestley was the first, but not the last tutor to leave Warrington from reasons of insufficient stipend.

In 1768 John Wesley paid one of his visits to Warrington, and a note in his *Journal* (5 April) probably reflects his sense of the influence of the Academy. He writes: "About noon I preached at Warrington; I am afraid not to the taste of some of my hearers, as my subject led me to speak strongly and explicitly on the Godhead of Christ. But that I cannot help, for on this I must insist as the foundation of all hope." The editor of the Standard Edition of *The Journal of John Wesley* sees in this note "a veiled reference to John Seddon", basing his inference on an article from the pen of Arthur Mounfield, of Warrington: ¹ stating that "John Seddon was then minister of Cairo St. Presbyterian Chapel, and his Unitarian teaching had strongly influenced both the Academy and his congregation. Wesley mentions no names, but it is evident he has heard something of Cairo St. Chapel." Seddon was an Arian, but his doctrinal influence in the town or out of it was by no means so marked as that of tutors in the Academy. Probably Mounfield confused him with his contemporary and second cousin John Seddon, of Cross St. Chapel, Manchester, a Socinian, and, like the Warrington minister, a son of a Rev. Peter Seddon. Walter D. Jeremy in 1885 ² actually credited John Seddon, of Manchester, with being "the original projector of the Warrington Academy", and many other writers confused the two men. Alexander Gordon properly distinguished them thus: "John Seddon, of Manchester was the first who preached what they called Socinianism, and John Seddon, of Warrington, who does not seem to have preached anything in particular, made the Warrington Academy." ³ Wesley had certainly "heard something" of the Academy, and, more particularly, of its first divinity tutor, John Taylor. Within a month of Taylor's leaving Norwich for Warrington, i.e. on 23 November, 1757, Wesley was at Norwich, and, as he tells us, "visited Dr. Taylor's new meeting-house, perhaps the most elegant one in Europe" . . . adding, "How can it be thought that the old coarse gospel should find admission here?" Then, in a letter to A. M. Toplady, 9 December, 1758, in a denunciation of Taylor, which really pays him a great tribute, he said:

"I verily believe that no single person since Mahomet has given such a wound to Christianity as Dr. Taylor. They are his books, chiefly upon Original Sin, which are poisoning so many of the clergy; indeed, the fountains themselves, the universities in England, Scotland, Holland, and Germany."

¹ *Proceedings of Wesley Historical Society*, viii, 59.

² *The Presbyterian Fund and Dr. Williams's Trust*, p. 71.

³ See also p. 12.

The indefatigable Seddon took Priestley's place as Tutor in Belles Lettres, lecturing also on theology and philosophy, and generously accepting a salary of only £50 a year. Three sets of his lectures survive in manuscript. One, a quarto volume, consists of eighteen note-books of fourteen pages each, written in longhand by Seddon. The lectures are miscellaneous in character, e.g. "On the evidences of Christianity, Metaphysics, Morals and Logic". The first thirteen are based on Doddridge, whom he freely criticizes and corrects. Speaking of "Revelation", for example, he said: "This perhaps is the most exceptionable part of the system, for our author has managed this argument so as will not appear entirely fair. For under the proposition he has picked out all the particulars of that evidence with which Christianity was really attended, and he proposes that as a Standard whereby Revelation was to be tried. This seems contrary to the fairness and impartiality with which such subjects should be treated. It looks too much like an attempt to prepossess the mind in favour of Christianity before it has been fairly examined."

There must have been few theological tutors elsewhere who would protest against "an attempt to prepossess the mind in favour of Christianity before it has been fairly examined". Unfettered inquiry had been the practice at Warrington from the first.

The remaining five lectures are on Logic, of which subject Isaac Watts' Treatise served as text-book. Seddon's philosophy was that of Hutcheson, his old teacher at Glasgow, to which he had converted his friend Philip Holland.

The second set of lectures consists of two quarto volumes closely written. In an introductory lecture he shows the connection between the subjects he taught: Logic, Grammar, and Oratory. "It is the business of logic to teach us to think justly; of grammar to speak with propriety; and oratory to speak well." He illustrates the importance and utility of oratory, gives an account of its history, and quotes Demosthenes and Cicero to show "the power of ancient eloquence". He then addresses himself to students preparing for the ministerial and logical professions. Following a traditional plan, he discusses Aristotle's "Treatise on Rhetoric", and Longinus "On the Sublime", and proceeds to examine minutely different kinds of oratory, and its "parts"—"Invention, disposition, elocution, memory, and pronunciation".

In one respect, Seddon was an excellent tutor in "Oratory", for his rhetorical gifts were such that "when objection had been urged against Priestley's lecturing on Oratory, of which, from his own defective utterance, he was incapable of giving a practical illustration, he was wont to refer his pupils to Mr. Seddon as an excellent oratorical model".

The third set of lectures consists of two quarto volumes closely written recto. Quotations (except from classical writers) and paragraphs re-

written are on the opposite side. The end of each lecture is marked, from which it appears that his course included forty-seven lectures. The date given in Vol. I is 1767. In Vol II, Seddon alludes to his "Introductory Lectures on the importance of Learning", and at the end of the volume outlines the courses to follow, viz., "A course of Lectures upon Oratory, upon a Scientific Plan" (discussed above); "Discourses upon Poetry, its several species, with a Critique upon the Principal Poets both Ancient and Modern"; "dissertations on the other Polite Arts, as Music, Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture", and adds, "The last part of my course will be on the Use and Study of History, with a particular application of the principles and maxims which shall be laid down to the History of our own Country—the whole to be completed in the course of this and the next year".

At the close he acknowledges that these lectures on language "extended to a much greater length than he could have imagined", and congratulates his pupils on the "patience" exhibited "through a course of speculations of themselves dry and unentertaining".

He begins the lectures with a discussion of the "Origin of Language", and traces the invention of written characters to the need which arose "when the lives of men were shortened and reduced within a limit of 100 years". The "Primary Subject" of Grammar he illustrates by quotations from Latin, Greek, Hebrew and French. The Greek is without breathings or accents, but the Hebrew is pointed. In discussing the "Verb", Seddon indulges in an examination of the metaphysics of Time and Space.

In the second volume, he freely criticizes Priestley, and flatters himself on his own "prescience and perspicuity". He examines and illustrates from English authors current slips in speech and writing, after the manner of the authors of *The King's English*, and sets forth clearly his theory of Punctuation. In discussing the characteristics of different languages, he acknowledges indebtedness to his colleague, Mr. Forster, for what he has to say about German. He examines the conditions which affect languages, incidentally praising "the accurate Dr. Lowth and the laborious and indefatigable Mr. Johnson", and gives the characteristics of "a good language".

Seddon's lectures reveal the text-books he used, his limitations as a scholar, and the character of one who played an important part in shaping the curriculum of the Academy first as secretary and then as tutor.

Two years after the departure of Priestley from Warrington, Holt died, and thus severed a connection of fifteen years with the Academy. On 22 January, 1770, Seddon suddenly died from a seizure whilst on horseback. The two tutors who began work in the Academy in 1757, and its secretary from the beginning, were now dead; its most brilliant

recruit had resigned, and the Academy, heavily in debt, was not enlisting the support it needed, nor attracting students in any numbers. From 1770 onwards the Academy continued to do good work, but made little or no progress promising stability and a long life.

CHAPTER IV

WARRINGTON ACADEMY

ITS DECLINE, 1770-80

ON Joseph Priestley's retirement from the Academy in 1767, John Seddon, as we have seen, had taken over Belles Lettres and Theology, and John Aikin took Classics. A new tutor was appointed for Modern Languages and Natural History.

John Reinhold Forster (1729-98) was a German born near Dantzic, and educated "at the royal college of Berlin and at the University of Halle". He then studied theology and for a time was in the ministry. He then went to Russia, but, being disappointed with his experiences there, came to England in 1766. He spoke German and French "fluently and with a proper accent". Shortly after coming to this country, he was chosen an honorary member of the Society of Antiquaries, and was "considered one of the best botanists of the day".¹

Under Forster modern languages and natural history flourished at Warrington. In the spring of 1768 he published *A Syllabus of Lectures on Mineralogy* for the use of his students, which is said to have "met with the approbation of some of the best judges in this kingdom".² He "lectured on this subject one year, and in the following year on the vegetable and animal kingdom". With a view to the needs of possible candidates for the Services, he also proposed to lecture on "Fortification, Gunnery and Tactics, if a sufficient number of young Gentlemen should desire it".

The possibility of such lectures in earlier nonconformist academies would surely never have occurred to their tutors, and, if they had, would have met with no approval from the funds contributing directly or indirectly to their support. Even academies open to laymen made no provision for men desiring to enter the Army or Navy.

Despite his scholarship, Forster does not appear to have been popular at Warrington. According to Turner, he was something of a spendthrift. Bright remarks: "His irritable temper, and the entire want of economy which he displayed in all his arrangements, made him out of place in a situation where mutual forbearance and courtesy were so much

¹ Academy Report, 1767.

² Ibid., 1768.

required, and where, among the tutors, at least, extravagance was unknown." It therefore became necessary to terminate his engagement. His Prussian manners and discipline may have evoked the resolution of the Trustees in 1769 desiring the students to appoint a committee to air their grievances year by year.

After a stay of a little over two years, Forster left the Academy. He accompanied Captain Cook on his second voyage (1772), prior to which he received the degree of LL.D. from Oxford University. Subsequently he was appointed to a chair at Halle.

On the death of Seddon (1770), Enfield succeeded him in the ministry and at the Academy, where he became secretary, tutor, and rector. No man worked more strenuously than he did at Warrington, though he was not equally successful in every office he filled.

William Enfield (1741-97) had been a pupil at Daventry Academy under Caleb Ashworth, and, after completing his studies, was minister at Benn's Garden, Liverpool, 1763-70. His friend and biographer, John Aikin, M.D., speaks highly of his qualifications as a tutor, but less enthusiastically of his capacity as a disciplinarian. "Whatever could be effected by those amiable endowments which conciliate affection, might be hoped from one who was to become the delight of a large circle of acquaintance; but in those emergencies where firmness, resolution, and a kind of dignified severity of conduct might be requisite, there was cause to apprehend a failure."¹ This is in the nature of a prophecy *post eventum*, but it probably reflects the judgment of discerning friends in 1770, and is not without relation to the disorder which prevailed later in the Academy.

Enfield threw himself with a will into the work at Warrington, shouldering one burden after another as necessity arose. He did not share the philosophical determinism of Priestley, and, in the frank spirit that ever prevailed amongst Warrington tutors, did not conceal the fact from his students, though at the cost of a temporary breach with Priestley's friends and adherents.

Enfield's most popular work, *The Speaker; Miscellaneous Pieces selected from the best English Writers . . . to which is prefixed an Essay on Elocution* (4to), was published in 1774, and frequently reprinted. As the preface states:

"It was undertaken principally with the design of assisting the students at Warrington in acquiring a just and graceful elocution and was followed in 1780 by *Exercises in Elocution; A Sequel to The Speaker*. . . ." The 1780 edition of *The Speaker*, published by Joseph Johnson, contains one of the early frontispiece engravings by William Blake.

In 1774 the degree of LL.D. was conferred by Edinburgh University on Enfield. Principal Robertson, addressing Dr. Percival, who had suggested it, said:

¹ Memoir of W. Enfield, Prefixed to *Sermons*, vol. i, vii (1798).

We wish in this College not to confer honorary degrees, either in divinity or law, without duly considering the merit of the candidates. But I am happy when we can confer that mark of esteem upon any of our dissenting brethren. Mr. Enfield appears to me a very ingenuous and deserving man.

In 1772 John Wesley was again at Warrington, and under date, 30 March, makes explicit reference to the Academy :

At one I preached at Warrington. I believe all the young gentlemen of the Academy were there ; to whom I stated and proved the use of reason from these words of St. Paul : " In wickedness be ye children, but in understanding be ye men ".

We learn from a Warringtonian ¹ that " This sermon was spoken in the open air, and the scene of it was Academy Square . . . Wesley took his stand upon a chair in front of the house in which Dr. Priestley had lived up to some five years before, and spoke to a congregation which quite filled the Square. Among those who listened was Jane Philips, the wife of the town crier of Warrington. One of her children sat upon her shoulder during the sermon, and was able to the end of life to describe the eager crowd of students, tutors, and populace which pressed round the preacher."

Wesley had chosen time and place well if his intent, above all else, was to address himself to the students and staff of the Academy, but it cannot be said that he made the best use of the occasion, for " the use of reason " was never neglected in the Academy.

Possibly, however, like an even greater missionary at Athens,² Wesley sought to find common ground with his hearers in presenting evangelical doctrine as a gospel which did not dispense with " understanding ".

This year, 1772, a bill was introduced into Parliament to relieve nonconformist divines from the subscription required (though seldom enforced) by the Toleration Act of 1689, and petitions in its favour were presented from most dissenting ministers in England and Wales. Thompson's manuscript list in Dr. Williams's Library gives lists of the Petitioning Ministers. Enfield signed as minister at Warrington, and other past students of the Academy as ministers elsewhere. Walker and Aiken signed, and are each described as " a tutor at Warrington ", whilst a footnote to the asterisk before their names adds : " These are not connected with any particular congregation." There follows a list (six in number) of " Pupils at Warrington ". Divinity students at Hoxton, Daventry, and Carmarthen academies also signed petitions. It is an evidence of their common interest in nonconformist politics. No other ministers in the list are described as are the tutors at Warrington.

In 1772 George Walker, F.R.S., succeeded John Holt as Tutor in Natural Philosophy and Mathematics. Born in 1734, he was a nephew of Thomas Walker, whom Priestley at Leeds described as " one of the most heretical ministers in the neighbourhood ", and was partly educated

¹ A. Mounfield, *Ut supra*, p. 81.

² It is assumed that *Acts* xvii. 22 contains a compliment as Dr. Moffatt understands it.

by him. Subsequently he was a pupil at the Durham Grammar School, and at Kendal Academy under Dr. Caleb Rotheram. He then went to Scotland, studying mathematics under Matthew Stuart at Edinburgh, and under Robert Simson at Glasgow, where he also read divinity with William Leechman. Engaged in the ministry from 1757, he continued his mathematical studies, took in pupils, was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and, declining the office of librarian to the Earl of Shelburne, afterwards filled by Priestley, accepted the invitation to Warrington given him through Priestley.

Wakefield describes him as a "gentleman, take him for all in all, who possesses the greatest variety of knowledge, with the most masculine understanding of any man I ever knew. He is in particular a mathematician of singular accomplishment."

Walker published as a text-book for his pupils at Warrington a *Treatise on the Sphere* (4to) on which, according to his son's account, he began work before he was eighteen. It is remarkable "for the purity of its Geometry, and the elegance of its demonstrations". Its peculiar feature was its solid figures. "To furnish 500 copies with these required the cutting out of more than 20,000, which were afterwards to be divided, fitted, and inserted in the plans to which they belong; an immense labour, and peculiarly irksome to a man of taste and genius".¹ Published in 1775, it was reissued in 1777.

A Treatise on the Conic Sections in Five Books. Book I. On The Properties common to the Three Sections appeared in 1795 (4to), and was the only book published. Walker had begun it long before he went to Warrington, but did not publish it until twenty years after he left the Academy, and the substance of it was used in his lectures there. By the time it came out, he was a well-known political reformer, in favour of electoral reform, the rights of Dissenters, the independence of the United States, and the abolition of the slave trade, using pen and voice fearlessly in their behalf.

The way of a scientist, who was also a radical and a Dissenter, was hard. This is apparent from the last paragraph in his preface.

The Author has no profit in view, he never expected it from any of his former publications, and could not therefore expect it in a work of abstract science. It is however unpleasant and inconvenient to him to be subjected to actual loss, which he fears he must encounter to a considerable extent. From this he hoped to have been relieved by the generosity of the Cambridge Press, with the Directors of which his manuscript was deposited for some considerable time in the early part of the year 1793. Encouraged to hope for this favour, the encouragement and hope failed him. The manuscript was returned. . . . Perhaps it was the misfortune of the Author to be a Dissenter, when it has become the temper and very principle of the day to cut off a Dissenter from every public expectation. But surely, however wise the general interdict may be, pure innocent science might have promised itself an exemption from the maledictions both of religious and political party.

¹ *Monthly Repository*, viii, 528.

A volume of shorthand notes (12mo., undated) by George Walker is divided into six sections: Meteorology, Hydrography, Geology, Mineralogy, Botany, Zoology. There are numerous references to authorities. The fourth section on Mineralogy is very brief, and left unfinished. The lectures were probably given later by Walker at Manchester Academy, but may also have been used at Warrington, and indicate at least the range of his scientific interests.

As no fixed stipend was now attached to his tutorship, and he was dependent upon the fees of the students—a variable and precarious source of income—George Walker found it impossible to continue at Warrington, and resigned his office in 1774, greatly to the loss of the Academy.

Henceforth Natural Philosophy and Mathematics fell to the lot of Enfield. During the long vacation he worked hard, and, said Dr. Aikin, “advanced in the science in proportion to the demand, till he became a very excellent teacher in all the parts which were requisite in the academical course”, an error of judgment, in the opinion of Wakefield, due to “a warmth of friendship for so meritorious a friend”. However that be, it cannot be said that Enfield was either idle or incompetent in this field of study. He translated from the French in 1781, for the use of his pupils, the *Elements of Geometry*, by Jean Joseph Rossignol, a second edition of which came out in 1787. In the preface to his *Institutes of Natural Philosophy, Theoretical and Practical* (4to), 1785, Enfield said: “The difficulty which I met with in providing my classes with a text-book in Natural Philosophy, neither, on the one hand, materially deficient in mathematical demonstrations, nor, on the other, too copious and too abstruse, for the purpose of elementary instruction, first suggested the idea of this work.” It contained the substance of his teaching at Warrington in Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, Optics, Astronomy, Magnetism, Electricity, and the First Principles of Chemistry. The work was dedicated to Priestley. In its way, it was an eighteenth-century anticipation of Hogben’s *Science for the Citizen* (1938), without its originality, learning, bibliographies, and modernity of phrase and expression. The need for such a text-book was proved by its popularity at home and abroad. The second edition was published in London in 1799, from which the first American edition, revised by Samuel Webber, was printed in 1832, and ran to five editions.

The History of Philosophy from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Present Century was drawn up by Enfield in two volumes (4to), London, 1791, from Brucker’s *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, a Latin work in six quarto volumes (2nd ed. 1767), each of about a thousand pages. It had its origin at Warrington, when Enfield borrowed from the original work in drawing up a course of lectures for his students. The selection and translation then made formed the core of the later published work.

Enfield was a prolific writer, and after he left Warrington, joined John Aiken, M.D., as co-editor of the *General Biographical Dictionary*, of which, however, only one volume had appeared when Enfield died. As a writer of sermons Enfield enjoyed a particularly high reputation. A collection in three volumes, published posthumously (1798) enlisted 778 subscribers for 1,132 copies. Many of the subscribers were clergymen, and there are many stories of Enfield's sermons being heard from episcopalian pulpits.

As a tutor, Turner found him deficient in certain respects. "He was a mere lecturer; no examination on the subject of the former lecture preceded the delivery of the next; nor were any sufficient pains taken to ascertain whether the student had understood the subject."

In classics the Academy maintained its high standard. From the correspondence of William Turner with his father we learn that he read with Dr. Aikin, Herodian, Seneca, and Cicero, and made the acquaintance of Sophocles, Horace, and Virgil.¹ Other classical authors read during this period included Thucydides, Plato, Lysias, Aristotle, Epictetus, Marcus Antoninus, Maximus Tyrius, and Longinus.

The time-table reveals the range of studies and the general engagements of the students about 1778. It covers the hours from 7 a.m. until 9 p.m. The extent to which Commerce and Science take precedence over strictly theological subjects is remarkable.

Greek Testament and Hebrew are now allotted one hour each weekly, and "Theology" two hours, whilst to Classics and French are given five hours each, and to Sciences of different kinds, eleven hours. Arithmetic and Bookkeeping, Writing and Drawing are also well provided for. The day opens with Prayers at 7 a.m., and closes with Prayers at 9 p.m. A footnote adds: "Evening Prayers are now at 7. Several Societies after Supper (8 p.m.)".

From 1774 to 1778, apart from lecturers, there were only two tutors, Aiken and Enfield. Then the health of the former began to fail, and Pendlebury Houghton, an old pupil of the Academy, was appointed to assist him. This was not regarded as a permanent arrangement, and Turner, writing to his brother, May, 1779, speaks of another appointment:

We are to have an additional tutor. . . . The Trustees have fixed their eyes upon a Mr. Wakefield, of Liverpool. This gentleman is recommended by Drs. Jebb and Priestley. He was a fellow-student with the former at Cambridge, and, being dissatisfied with the Church, wishes to provide himself with some other employment. Dr. Jebb says he is the best classical scholar he ever knew. Dr. Enfield is going to Liverpool to-morrow with the proposals.

Enfield's mission proved successful. In a letter written by no less a person than Sir Henry Houghton, M.P., President of the Academy, the formal invitation was conveyed from "Warrington Academy".

¹ W. Turner, *Lives of Eminent Unitarians*, ii, 365-7.

Thursday, July 1, 1779—1 o'clock

intimating that the Trustees . . . have unanimously agreed to request your acceptance of the office of Classical Tutor in the Academy, on the terms proposed to you by Dr. Enfield, and they doubt not that your connexion with this seminary will be as agreeable to you, as it will be respectable to them.

Gilbert Wakefield (1756-1807) served the Academy until 1783. He was a classical scholar of some distinction, 2nd Wrangler at Cambridge in 1776, and a Fellow of Jesus College. During a brief career as a curate in Liverpool, he turned Arian and resigned his office. In March, 1779, he married the daughter of his former rector and vacated his fellowship before he accepted the call to Warrington. Here he did excellent work, though always dissatisfied with the provision for classical studies in the curriculum. Dr. John Jebb, another heretical Cambridge Fellow, who, through Priestley, recommended Wakefield for the post, had informed him (12 August, 1780) that "critical knowledge applied to the Greek New Testament is much wanted". That Wakefield strove to give. He was, however, an eccentric scholar, "as violent against Greek accents", said Richard Porson, "as he was against the Trinity". His hostility against Hebrew points was no less marked, for he condemned a colleague at Hackney College, where he afterwards taught, for "pursuing an ignorant and barbarous method". We get a view of Wakefield as he appeared to a contemporary ex-clergyman in two letters of Theophilus Lindsey. In one, written to a friend at Shrewsbury, 19 October, 1781, he says:

Mr. Wakefield, the classical Tutor at Warrington, is, I doubt not, worthy as he is ingenious, but he seems hasty in his publications, and to write with too confident an air, and with too much vehemence for me.

and, addressing Turner, 18 October, 1783, he writes:

I have always been informed that he uniformly attended the worship of the Church of England at Warrington. I hope time will mellow his disposition and lessen the high opinion he seems to have of himself, which hurts the benefit his good parts and learning might be to others. . . .

Whilst at Warrington Wakefield published a translation of 1 Thessalonians (1781) and of St. Matthew's Gospel (1782), and ten years later a translation of the entire New Testament. In 1 Thessalonians, as he said, he "followed no particular edition of the Greek New Testament, and, in various readings, and especially in those of controversial texts, paid respect to the number and authority of the manuscripts, not altogether disregarding the scope and exigencies of the passage, which, in the case of trivial variations, and when the design of the writer is extremely clear, is a more satisfactory and decisive rule". In other words, he was an eclectic in respect of manuscripts, and, as in editing classical texts, indulged, though less freely, in conjectural emendations.

A Plantin edition of the Hebrew Bible (1580)¹ bears the signatures on

¹ In the Library of the Unitarian College, Manchester.

the title-page of "John Turner" and "William Turner", the latter dated "1777", the year when he entered Warrington Academy. As he remained there until 1781, he must have taken Hebrew with both Aikin and Wakefield, and on one of the margins of a page are the words "Feb. exam", with passages marked. Internal evidence, e.g., references to published works, and the comparison of the script with that of Turner prove that whilst many of the manuscript notes which crowd the margins are from the pen of John Turner,¹ a pupil at the first Manchester Academy (1699-1713) most are written by his grandson William. These notes are mostly in Latin, a few are in English, and a page at the end is written in shorthand. Wakefield would probably prefer to give notes in Latin rather than in English. References are made to the variants of the Samaritan, Arabic, Greek, Syriac, and Latin versions, also to the Targums, to Kimchi the thirteenth-century Rabbinical commentator, and to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century scholars like Le Clerc and Kennicott. A few of the longer Massoretic notes are translated into English. There are Latin notes on the shortcomings of the Authorized Version of 1611, references to the polyglot of Montanus, and suggestions for the transpositions of passages similar to those adopted by Dr. Moffatt in his modern English translations. In view of Wakefield's preoccupation with Oriental learning whilst at Warrington, it is highly probable that these notes were given by him.

Of external lecturers in the Academy, one was pre-eminent, John Aikin, M.D., only son of the divinity tutor. John Aikin (1757-1822) an old student of the Academy, afterwards studied at Edinburgh University, and at Leyden where he graduated. His many contributions to literature have been already noticed.² Before settling in practice at Warrington, he had written an "Essay on the Ligature of Arteries", afterwards published with "Cases on Surgery" by Charles White, an eminent Manchester surgeon, of whom for three years he was a pupil. Dr. Aikin lectured in the Academy for the bare fees paid by students, giving courses in alternate years (1) on Anatomy and Physiology, (2) on Chemistry; chiefly for the benefit of young men destined for the profession of medicine. The fees were a guinea and two guineas for the two courses respectively.

Of twenty-one students of medicine, fourteen subsequently entered the medical school at Edinburgh; the lives of six are in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and three are included in Munk's *Roll of the College of Physicians*. "For such a course", said Dr. J. F. Fulton,³ "they had been admirably prepared in the Academy."

Aikin published in 1782 for the use of his classes a *Sketch of Animal Anatomy* (Anon.) and *Heads of Chemistry*. The first he afterwards

¹ John Turner took an active part against the forces of the Old Pretender in 1715 at Preston, where he was then minister.

² See pp. 31-2.

³ "Warrington Academy . . .", *Institute of Hist. of Medicine*, i, 2, 50-80.

translated into elegant Latin "with a particular view to lead students in medicine to pay more attention to the acquiring of a correct style."¹ He also made a translation of Baumé's *Manuel de Chymie*, which he published in 1778. From an octavo manuscript volume, written in shorthand, presented by William Turner to Thomas Martineau, father of James Martineau, we learn a little more of Aikin's work at Warrington. Thomas Martineau's brother, Philip Meadows, was a student at Warrington, became a distinguished surgeon at Norwich, and died at the early age of thirty-seven. The manuscript is entitled "Haller's Elements of Physiology, etc, abridged by John Aikin, Lecturer in Anatomy and Chemistry in the Academy at Warrington." It is dated 1781, and comprises two volumes. A pencil note in volume 1 runs: "This is not merely a translation of Haller's 'First Lines', but is abridged directly from Haller's great work *Elementa Physiologiæ* in eight volumes quarto". Albrecht Von Haller, F.R.S. (1708-77), was a famous Swiss anatomist and physiologist. His *Elementa Physiologiæ Corporis Humani* was published 1757-60. From 1736 to 1753 he occupied the chair of medicine, anatomy, botany and surgery in the newly founded university of Göttingen. Turner's volume passed from the library of James Martineau after his death, and was one of 200 volumes presented by his daughters (1900) to Willaston School, Nantwich.

Another book published by Aikin whilst at Warrington was *Selecta quædam ex C. Plinii Secundi Naturali, ad usum scholarum*, edited by John Aikin, M.D., with a preface by John Aikin, D.D., 1776. The association of father and son in this publication is of peculiar interest. The book sprang out of Aikin's love of natural history, and he "once entertained a project for translating Pliny, but abandoned it, being disgusted by his errors and old women's fables".

At Warrington, too, Aikin published "the work that is of greatest interest to medical historians, *Biographical Memoirs of Medicine in Great Britain*, 1780. It was advertised in preliminary form in 1775. Arranged chronologically, it represents the first attempt to record the biographical history of English medicine, and it is at the same time the first biographical dictionary of physicians in English, bringing together valuable materials, some of which would otherwise have been lost".² The book covers the period "From the Revival of Literature to the Time of Harvey" (thirteenth to sixteenth centuries). Aikin had published an *Address to the Public*, seeking assistance, but received little and then fell back on existing "printed books", some of which the libraries refused to loan "on any interest or security whatsoever". He collected, however, valuable materials, and probably in his lectures included much concerning the development of Anatomy and Physiology gleaned whilst compiling this book.

¹ *Monthly Repository*, viii, 528.

² J. F. Fulton, *Ut supra*.

John Aikin M.D., lectured in the Academy from 1772 to 1783, and during that period counted for much in its social and academic life. After he left Warrington, he practised at Yarmouth, where, for the publication of liberal opinions in politics and religion, he suffered ostracism. In 1792 he removed to London where from 1786 Mrs. Barbauld had lived. Between brother and sister a singular intimacy and literary partnership existed until his death in 1822. Mrs. Barbauld died three years later. Aikin's "elegant scholarship", says a biographer,¹ "gave a natural polish to all that he wrote, and his varied attainments, as well as his moral uprightness, earned him many friends".

When Forster left the Academy in 1769, "various attempts were made," says Turner, "to engage a foreigner in the capacity of teacher of foreign languages". Evidently, in spite of difficulties, personal and financial, attending an appointment, the Trustees were resolved to keep alive in the Academy the study of modern languages which had marked it from the first. The Report, 20 June, 1770, says: "Mr. Fantin La Tour, who is a native of France and has studied at Geneva, teaches French, and Italian if required. This gentleman is capable of instructing his pupils in the true pronunciation of the French language, and of qualifying them to write it with accuracy and elegance, and gives great satisfaction in his department."

The last clause implies that La Tour began work in the winter of 1769, or at latest, in the spring of 1770. According to the Academy Minutes he was appointed on the recommendation of Messrs. Barbauld and Majendie in the autumn of 1769. Both men were clergymen of Huguenot descent.

Theophilus Lewis Barbauld was appointed chaplain to the Princess of Hesse, daughter of George the Second, on his marriage. He spent some years in the court at Hesse where his children were born, one of whom married Letitia Aikin. On his return to England he was presented to the living of St. Foster's Vedast, and also preached at the French Chapel, at St. James's. Majendie was Canon of Windsor, 1774, and Tutor to Queen Charlotte and other members of the royal family. He had been one of the four men who had recommended the appointment of Forster. These facts are of some importance in view of what follows.

The next foreign tutor appointed is not mentioned in the Minutes, but the Report, 1 July, 1773, says: "Mr. Lewis Guerry, a gentleman who has passed through a regular and complete course of education in the Universities of Lausanne and Leyden, and was invited, upon very respectable recommendations at the beginning of the last Session, as professor of the French and Italian languages, and gives great satisfaction in every respect." Clearly, he began his lectures in the autumn of 1772. La Tour was therefore not much more than two years at Warrington,

¹ *D.N.B.*, *sub voce*.

possibly less. No Reports for 1771 or 1772 are known to survive, which might give a reference to the departure of La Tour, or to an appointment, if any, in the brief interval between his departure and Guerry's arrival. In later Reports, 1776-82, the tutor in French is " Mr. Hulme, who taught also Fencing ", and had studied in France. As his virtues are not celebrated in the first of these Reports, he almost certainly taught before 1776. Is this a complete list of French tutors after Forster left in 1769? Is one name missing, or, alternatively, is one of the Frenchmen, viz., Fantin La Tour to be identified with the notorious Marat, the French revolutionary leader?

These questions arise as the result of evidence, conjecture, and tradition associating Marat with the Academy as French tutor at this period. William Turner in 1813,¹ after mentioning Fantin La Tour, adds: " a M. le Maitre, alias Mara, and Mr. Lewis Guery, but none of them continued for any length of time ". In a footnote to the name " Mara ", he adds, " There is great reason to believe that this was the infamous Marat, the associate of Robespierre, and the victim of Charlotte Corday. It is known that he was in England about this time, and published in London a *Philosophical Essay on the connection between the Body and the Soul of Man*, and, somewhere in the country, had a principal hand in printing, in quarto, a work of considerable ability, but of a seditious tendency, entitled *Chains of Slavery*. Mara, as his name is spelt in the Minutes of the Academy, very soon left Warrington, whence he went to Oxford, robbed the Ashmolean Museum, escaped to Ireland, was apprehended in Dublin, tried and convicted in Oxford under the name of Le Maitre, and sentenced to the Hulks at Woolwich. Here one of his old pupils at Warrington, a native of Bristol, saw him. He was afterwards a bookseller in Bristol and failed, was confined in the gaol of that city, but released by the Society there for the relief of prisoners confined for small sums. One of that Society, who had personally relieved him in Bristol, afterwards saw him in the National Assembly in Paris in 1792."

The *Philosophical Essay on Man*, 1773, was Marat's first book, and reveals an extensive knowledge of English, French, German, Italian and Spanish philosophers. From 1767-8 he lived in London. *The Chains of Slavery*, 1774, is queried in the British Museum catalogue as by J. P. Marat. It appears as *Les Chaines de l'Esclavage* Par J. P. Marat, Paris, l'an premier (1793), with prefixed " Notice ", dating the work earlier than its first publication in 1774 at London, giving an account of its composition and printing, and mentioning the author's " trois semaines à Carlisle, à Berwick, et à Newcastle ". He graduated M.D. (St. Andrews) 30 June, 1775, possibly *in absentia*.

There can be no doubt of Marat's competence to teach foreign languages, and not much about his being in the north of England about 1772

¹ *Monthly Repository*.

or thereabouts. As no such name as Le Maitre is to be found in the Minutes of the Academy, and no trace of its having been erased, Bright and others have rejected the idea of Marat's connection with the Academy. Bright consulted Lucy Aikin, whose father and grandfather were teaching in the Academy at the time in question, and she replied: "There was an *alarm* about Marat, but investigation set the matter at rest; they were certainly different men." This at least suggests that a foreign tutor, passing under another name, had later to her knowledge been suspected to be Marat, and Bright himself admits that "a certain walk in Warrington still goes, I am informed, by the name of 'Marat's Walk'". This tradition of course may have originated from the "alarm".

If La Tour is identified with Marat, then Messrs. Barbauld and Majendie had been grossly deceived by the Frenchman. That is not impossible, but Lucy Aikin's denial of an identification, almost certainly with La Tour, must have depended upon her father, and her aunt.

The Marat problem was raised afresh in 1924 by Mr. Sidney L. Phipson,¹ who adduced new evidence. The most striking additions are (1) the purport of two letters written, May 1774, it is said, by Marat to John Aikin, M.D., offering to translate his medical works, and proposing himself as a suitor for the hand of his sister; and (2) that the jeweller to whom the criminal sold the stolen coins and medals declared that he came to his shop in Norwich with Dr. Rigby, a prominent surgeon in the town and a former student at the Academy, who was imposed upon by him as he had seen him at Warrington as a French tutor. Edward Rigby, grandson of the first tutor in divinity, entered the Academy in 1761 and spent little more than a year there, so that he could only have seen the French tutor when on a visit some ten years later.

In 1929 the Rev. J. M. Thompson, writing on Marat, says: ² "there is a considerable body of evidence identifying him with a certain John Peter Le Maitre, or Le Maire, *alias* Mara, who was a tutor in modern languages at Warrington Academy about 1772". In 1934 he critically examined and weighed all the available evidence.³ He accepts the reported content of the letters from Marat to Aikin, and supposes that "Dr. Aikin thought it better to bring up his daughter in ignorance of the fact that her esteemed aunt had been the friend and almost the wife of so notorious a character". This supposition is not in keeping with the known character of Aikin, and the offer of marriage improbable since Miss Aikin was married to Barbauld in the very month when the letters were written. That she "had been the friend and almost the wife" of Marat is a groundless and unworthy aspersion upon the lady. Barbauld entered Warrington in 1767, left in 1772, and was married in May, 1774.

¹ *Jean Paul Marat*, pp. 58 ff.

² *Leaders of the French Revolution*, p. 167.

³ *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xlix, 55-73, art. "Le Maitre *alias* Mara".

The dates at least suggest that an engagement of some length preceded the marriage.

The letters, dated 5 and 27 May, 1774, are said to have been contained in a copy of Marat's *Les Chaines de l'Esclavage* (Edin. 1774), purchased about 1882 by Victor de Terrant, whose son communicated that fact and a line or two summarizing the contents of the letters to *Notes and Queries* in 1922. Unfortunately the letters disappeared in the break-up of the owner's library.

The identification of the criminal with Marat is incomplete. The trial of John Peter Le Maitre for the robbery took place 7 March, 1777. There was no suggestion that he was a doctor, as Marat was. The known movements of Marat cannot be easily made to fit in with those of the criminal, unless the latter, as is presumed, but not proved, escaped from Woolwich. The recognition of the criminal by acquaintances at Norwich and Bristol some years after their knowledge of him as tutor and as prisoner does not prove that he was Marat. At most it proves that one of the foreign teachers of modern languages at Warrington (probably La Tour) was afterwards guilty of various crimes. It is difficult to identify Marat with La Tour in face of Lucy Aikin's statement. It is almost equally difficult to find room for Marat at the Academy in the short interval between the residence there of La Tour and Guerri, and, as the Minutes show, every tutor appointed was provided with suitable references. But what proved "crucial" evidence for Mr. Thompson was the letter written by "Dr. Marat" from "Dover 11th April 1776", when "Peter Le Maitre" was in prison at Dublin. In view of this, despite the extraordinary evidence adduced by him in favour of the identity of these men, Mr. Thompson "can only record a verdict of 'Not Proven'".

There remains the question of Turner's authority for his footnote identifying Le Maitre with "the infamous Marat". He did not enter the Academy until at least six or seven years after the date he suggests for the tutorship of "Le Maitre *alias* Mara". If he meant by "Minutes" "Report", his words cannot be confirmed or denied in the absence of Reports for 1771, 1772. When he was writing his account of the Academy, his friend Dr. Aikin was alive and still vigorous. Both were honorary members of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, and it is just possible that Turner's reference to Le Maitre *alias* Mara rests ultimately upon a confused recollection of a conversation with Aikin in which the mistaken identification of La Tour with Marat was mentioned, or alternatively, if the evidence of the Marat letters to Aiken is accepted, that Aikin gave him some information of Marat's very brief stay at Warrington, where, though not regularly appointed, he had been introduced on the recommendation of La Tour—an associate and later a convict. But this is conjecture. On the whole, the verdict in the case must surely be that of Mr. Thompson, "Not Proven".

In the summer of 1780 the Academy suffered a great loss. Aikin senior was compelled to resign from ill health in September, and on 14 December he died. A grant of thirty guineas was made by the Academy for a monument to his memory to be erected in Cairo Street Chapel, the Latin inscription of which was drawn up by Wakefield.

Enfield preached his Funeral Sermon, which he published, bearing as motto a striking and most fitting passage from Cicero : “ *Erant in eo plurimæ litteræ, nec eæ vulgares, sed interiores quædam et reconditæ ; summa verborum et gravitas et elegantia ; atque hæc omnia vitæ decorabat dignitas et integritas. Quanta severitas in vultu ! quantum pondus in verbis ! quam nihil non consideratum exhibat ex ore !* ”

From the date of Aikin's death, though not then foreseen, the ultimate fate of the Academy was sealed. As a tutor since its foundation no man had done more for the Academy, and none had enjoyed such universal respect and esteem from students, colleagues, and supporters of the institution. “ His influence over the students ”, says one of them, “ was very great, and arose not merely from the excellence of his instruction, but from the kind concern which he took in their welfare.” In the circumstances then prevailing, the loss was irreparable. A few generous friends had relieved the urgency of the financial situation by substantial donations, but there was no endowment for any “ chair ”, students' fees had declined with their numbers, whilst the “ scare ” of Marat's supposed connection with the Academy and the wild exploits of some of its pupils had reduced or eliminated the subscriptions of timid subscribers. Yet hope still prevailed amongst enthusiasts, and the work went on—for a time.

CHAPTER V

WARRINGTON ACADEMY

THE SOCIAL LIFE OF STUDENTS AND TUTORS

As at most academies, except possibly the smallest and the ultra-evangelical, so at Warrington, the authorities encouraged within reasonable limits indoor and outdoor recreation, whilst, on their own initiative, students enlarged the scope of games and sport thus provided. In 1769 a garden at the back of the Academy premises acquired seven years earlier “ was cleared and converted into a bowling-green for the use of the students ”.¹ Fencing was included in the curriculum and taught for some years by one of the tutors in French. In the middle of the eighteenth century the river Mersey was famous for its salmon, and was as beautiful in its upper reaches as the Dee is at Chester to-day. The first Academy

¹ Academy Minutes.

building was very near the river, and the second not far away from it. Consequently fishing at the appointed season, boating in summer and skating in winter were popular with the students.

Probably even the tutors sometimes indulged in Izaak Walton's favourite sport. This may be suggested by a remark in a letter from Priestley to Seddon, 16 May, 1762, when the latter was away from home.

Your salmon was sent on Friday ; it was impossible to get one before ; they have been uncommonly scarce.

When the Mersey was frozen in the winter of 1780, a student writing home, said :

I choose not to venture on it yet, as there are several places where there is no danger. I believe this fine opportunity has made all my fellow-students and myself a little too lax in our studies, but I hope we shall acquire such a stock of health and spirits as will bring us through so much more in future as to make up the loss. Indeed, the mornings and evenings are pretty busily employed as it is. Last Monday, though, I fell and broke my head ; however, it has done me no material damage, nor unfitted me for either skating or study.

One of the numerous disciplinary rules of the Academy forbade the possession of firearms by students, but a letter from a Bristol merchant asking for the return of the property of his nephew who had died at Warrington, makes particular mention of his gun. Probably, this rule, like many another, was more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Riding, both licit, for exercise, and illicit, to escape surveillance for a season, was commonly practised. The "young gentlemen" had, of course, their own horses. The Academy had its stable, which in 1781 was converted into a lecture room, probably to restrict the free movement of men, as the resolution for conversion is followed by one respecting absence from the Academy. On holidays excursions on foot into the country were encouraged. One, the Fifth of November, commemorated not only the foiling of the plot against the first Stuart king, but, equally important at least for Dissenters, the arrival at Torbay of William the Third after the flight of the last Stuart.

Indoor recreation was provided by means of societies of which tutors and students were members. Their object was the cultivation of interest in science and literature. Enfield and Aikin assisted students to form societies for improving their elocution and composition. At the meetings, essays were read and discussed. These societies, continued for many years, enabled the young men to practise extempore speaking, and must have proved valuable to those destined for the pulpit and the bar. Indoor concerts were held at intervals, and outside artists occasionally engaged. A letter from a student to Seddon begged him to write to "Mr. Goodwin desiring him to come to our concert on Thursday to play the Bass, as it will save us a considerable expense."¹

¹ Anne Holt, art. "The Seddon Letters", *T.U.H.S.*, vii, 279 (October 1942).

The tutors, too, had their own social gatherings. Wakefield recalled many years later : ¹ " the delightful converse, ' that feast of reason and flow of soul ', which he enjoyed with his colleagues, especially at a weekly meeting, holden alternately at the house of each other, and rendered still more agreeable by the occasional accession of some congenial spirit, resident on the spot, or casually introduced by a visitor ". Lucy Aikin, writing to Bright about the middle of last century, said, with good reason :

I have often thought with envy of that society. Neither Oxford nor Cambridge could boast of brighter names in literature or science than several of those Dissenting Tutors—humbly content, in an obscure town and on a scanty pittance, to cultivate in themselves and communicate to a rising generation those mental acquirements and moral habits which are their own exceeding great reward. They and theirs lived together like one large family, and in the facility of their intercourse they found large compensation for its deficiency in luxury and splendour.

Visits of distinguished men to Warrington doubtless meant much when communication with the outside world was slow and difficult. The visit of Professor Leechman, of Glasgow, to Dr. Taylor, has been already mentioned. One who often visited Warrington, and " shared in its intellectual society ", as the guest of Seddon and a trustee of the Academy, was Thomas Bentley, Wedgwood's friend and partner. He had been educated at Findern Academy, travelled on the continent, and spoke fluently French and Italian. " The Aikins and Priestleys were in turn his guests in Paradise Street (Liverpool) and it was on one of these occasions that Miss Aikin was introduced to Wedgwood, who subsequently presented to her a copy of one of his finest medallions of Priestley ". ² Josiah Wedgwood, himself, on his journeys to Liverpool occasionally stayed at Warrington, but he was much more interested in Priestley's experiments in electricity than in any literary pursuits. Bentley apparently witnessed some of these experiments and reported on them to his friend Wedgwood. Priestley in his *History of Electricity* relates that he occasionally " made a course of experiments to divert " his friends, Wedgwood, writing to Bentley, 9 October, 1766, said : ³

I am much pleased with your disquisition upon the Capabilities of Electricity, and should be glad to contribute in any way you can point out to me towards rendering Dr. Priestley's very ingenious experiments more extensively useful. . . . I should very gladly meet you at Warrington, if you let me know when you can spare a day for that purpose. I beg my respectful compliments to the Doctor, and wish him all possible success in his delightful and ingenious researches into the secrets of nature.

He refers to the same subject in a subsequent letter, and later became one of Priestley's most generous patrons.

¹ *Life of Gilbert Wakefield*, i, 229.

² E. Meteyard, *Life of J. Wedgwood*, i, 231.

³ E. Meteyard, *Ut supra*, p. 464.

A visitor from a distance to Warrington in the autumn of 1768 was Samuel Merivale, tutor of Exeter Academy from 1760 until his death in 1771. He was the guest of Aikin, whose fellow-student he had been at Northampton, and both men were admirers of Doddridge. This meeting of old friends and tutors must have been as profitable as it was pleasant. Priestley, who had just removed to Leeds, expressed his regret that he "missed the pleasure of an interview with Merivale", as he wanted to interest him in his proposed publication of the *Theological Repository*, and in due course Merivale became one of its contributors.

Forster, during his residence as Tutor at Warrington, made the acquaintance of the family of Blackburne at Orford Hall, near the town. John Blackburne (1706-96) was deeply interested in botany, and in 1779 Adam Neal, his gardener, compiled a catalogue (4to, 72 pp.) of his products, published by William Eyres. The "Advertisement" describes the "collection" as "of long standing, and known to most of the lovers of botany in the kingdom". Blackburne's daughter, Anna (d. 1795) was also a student of natural history. She formed a large and varied collection, was a friend and constant correspondent of Linnæus, and a genus of plant was named after her—Blackburniana—by Forster as an acknowledgment of her abilities as a naturalist and of her kindness to himself during his stay in Warrington. The Blackburnes were probably relatives of Archdeacon Blackburne, whose eldest son entered the Academy in the year Forster joined its staff, in which case his introduction to the family would be easy. They were certainly friends of the Percivals, for Thomas Percival (1691-1750), uncle of his namesake and protégé, the Warrington student, dedicated his M.D. thesis at Leyden (1720)¹ to "Mr. John Blackburne, of Warrington". Thomas Pennant, during a stay at Warrington, visited Orford, and described its venerable owner in one of his published tours. Doubtless Miss Blackburne occasionally made her way into the Warrington circle, whose scientific interests she so largely shared.

John Howard was constantly at Warrington, and his manuscripts were also corrected and revised for the press by John Aikin, M.D. One of Howard's visits is thus described in a letter to her daughter, Anna Letitia, by Mrs. Aikin :

Mr. Howard left us yesterday to the great regret of all who had the happiness of his acquaintance ; he is indeed an astonishing person ; where could another be found who could incur the expense, fatigue, and danger which he has done, in visiting three times over every prison in England, besides many in foreign parts ; where, one who has brought his appetites under such subjection as to be able to live almost without eating ? He takes nothing but a dish of tea or coffee and a mouthful of bread and butter till night ; and then only a few potatoes, and drinks nothing but water, and yet he never seems to want spirits or strength, and is a most lively companion.

¹ R. W. Innes Smith, *English-Speaking Students at Leyden*, s.v.

Thomas Pennant, F.R.S., the naturalist and tourist, had his manuscripts revised and corrected for the Warrington press by John Aikin, M.D. His *Tour in Scotland* gave rise to a violent dispute between Johnson and Bishop Percy. "A carrier", said the bishop, "who goes along the side of Loch Lomond would describe it better". Johnson replied: "He's a Whig, sir, a sad dog. But he's the best traveller I ever read; he observes more things than anyone else."

His Whig sympathies not less than his stories of travel would make him a welcome visitor to Warrington. Other visitors included William Roscoe, the historian, and James Currie, the biographer of Burns—not to name the many sober-minded divines attending the Provincial Meeting, who seemed more important to themselves and to others than do their modern representatives. Pennant and Roscoe mingled pleasure with business, for their early works were printed at Warrington. William Roscoe's descriptive poem, *Mount Pleasant*, written in his teens and published (1773) at the age of twenty, had been submitted "to the cultivated judgment of Dr. Enfield".¹ It contained one of the earliest protests against slavery, which he was to attack over thirty years later in the House of Commons as M.P. for Liverpool, one of the great shipping centres of the slave traffic. At Warrington he began a life-long intimacy with John Aikin, M.D., and, in a letter to Lucy Aikin after her father's death, he said: "From having accompanied him to his little botanical garden in the vicinity of Warrington, I first imbibed a relish for those pursuits; and I well remember that on his recommendation I first was led to the perusal of the modern writers of Latin poetry."² By Aikin, too, he confessed that he was "first directed to the study of Italian poets". All this gives more than a hint of what Roscoe owed, in the matter of his major interests in life, to his association with the Warrington circle.

One who may be deemed a visitor to Warrington was Dr. Benjamin Dawson, divine and philologist, a former student of Kendal Academy and Glasgow University. He conformed in 1758 and in 1763, "accompanied a young Yorkshire baronet, Sir James Ibbetson, of Leeds to Warrington as his private tutor . . . and joined the literary coterie of which John Aikin, D.D., was the head".³ Dawson was not the only clergyman who thus attended a charge at Warrington, and one such improved the occasion by attending academical lectures with his pupil. The wives of the Tutors, by their education, experience, accomplishments and family connections, were well equipped every way to act as hostesses, and contributed not a little to the social life of the Academy.

The good relations existing between staff and students at the Academy may be illustrated from their contacts outside the class-room. Priestley,

¹ *Life of William Roscoe*, by Henry Roscoe, i, 34.

² *Ibid.*, ii, 300.

³ *D.N.B.*, s.v. *B. Dawson*, by Alex. Gordon.

when engaged upon his *Rudiments of English Grammar* . . . enlisted the help of Thomas Barnes, who supplied him from his reading with examples of false grammatical constructions in celebrated authors. In a letter to Seddon, 9 April, 1762, we read that Priestley

invited all the students in divinity to drink a dish of tea with him. . . . I talked with them above an hour upon the state of the Academy, going over every particular. . . . I desired they would with all freedom mention, now or at any time, any objection they had to anything respecting the conduct of the Academy, assuring them it would be heard with the most favourable attention. . . . They said they were very far from having any objection to make. . . .

Again, in another letter, Priestley confessed that on parting with one of his younger pupils: "We both shed tears; I could not help it."

George Walker appears to have been on excellent terms with his students, and dedicated a sermon in 1805 to one of them, John Yates, "in testimony of a friendship, which commencing with the relation of tutor and pupil, has continued to this hour . . ."

"The most cordial intimacy", says Lucy Aikin,¹ "subsisted among the tutors and their families, with whom the elder students associated on terms of easy and affectionate intercourse; and while the various branches of knowledge occupied their graver hours, the moments of recreation were animated by sports of wit and ingenuity well adapted to nerve the wing of youthful genius."

The tutors, being near neighbours, observed the eighteenth-century custom of making breakfast a social meal, and in this practice John Holt, a recluse by nature, played his part as guest and host.

Unfortunately, the students did not all divide their time equally or unequally between "various branches of knowledge" and "sports of wit and ingenuity". When opportunity offered, some, at least, entertained each other along with a few more or less reputable friends from outside to supper rather than breakfast, probably as less likely to disclose "in graver hours" how they "nerved the wing of youthful genius".

The common beverages of the time were beer and wine, and Seddon's letters betray no little interest in casks and bottles, their safe conveyance and their contents. Wakefield, when he settled at Warrington, must have felt rather "like a fish out of water", if the figure is appropriate to one who in those good old days of port, home-brewed and beef, was a tee-totaller and vegetarian.

At meetings of societies and clubs in the Academy, with students present, presumably refreshments, if served, would be in the nature of tea, coffee, and cake.

Wakefield tells of "a society, mainly literary, consisting of Dr. Enfield, Dr. Aikin, myself and an assortment of the superior students; at which every member in his turn was to produce for discussion some

¹ *Memoir of John Aikin, M.D.*, i, 10.

composition in prose or verse, upon a subject of philosophy or taste. I never relish this sort of meeting, in which set speeches were expected, but was happy enough when conversation glided by a natural and unprepared cause into a literary channel. We soon gave it up." Probably the disparity between the ages and accomplishments of tutors and students contributed to this end.

"There were", we learn, "other attractions in the Warrington circle besides the Tutors and their philosophy", or the societies they promoted. Miss Aikin, writing to her friend Miss Belsham, January, 1772, said : ¹

If we had you here, Patty and I should be happy as the day is long. We have a knot of lasses just after your own heart—as merry, blithe, and gay as you would wish them, and very smart and clever ; two of them are the Misses Rigby. We have a West Indian family too, that I think you would like ; a young couple who seem intended by nature for nothing but mirth, frolic, and gayety. I say nothing of our young men, as I would not flatter you with the hopes of any conquest, for the afore-said damsels have left no hearts to conquer.

"Rousseau's *Héloïse*", says Bright, "had much to answer for, and at its appearance (so Miss Aikin tells me) 'everybody instantly fell in love with everybody', and then it was that Mr. Barbauld won his bride." But Rousseau's novel appeared in 1760, and Barbauld entered the Academy in 1767.

Rochmont Barbauld's grandparents were French Huguenots. His grandmother escaped with others to Holland in May 1688, her husband having previously got away concealed in a cask. Rochmont's father had intended him to be a clergyman, but sent him to Warrington where he turned Dissenter. Mrs. Barbauld was a cultured and attractive woman. "She was indebted", says her niece and biographer, "to her learned and exemplary father for the solid foundations of a literary and classical education, a boon at that period rarely bestowed upon a daughter. . . . At the time of her life in Warrington, she was possessed of great beauty, distinct traces of which she retained to the latest period of life. Her person was slender, her complexion exquisitely fair, with the bloom of perfect health ; her features were regular and elegant, her dark eyes beamed with the light of wit and fancy." Naturally she played a great part in the revels of the students, of whom more than one lost their hearts to her. Unhappily the one she married became mentally afflicted whilst in the ministry. "The fifteen years passed by her at Warrington", we are told,² "comprehended probably the happiest as well as the most brilliant portion of her existence." She "took a warm interest in the success of the Academy, and no academic has ever celebrated his *alma mater* in nobler strains, or a more filial affection."

¹ Grace A. Ellis, *Life and Works of Mrs. Barbauld*, i, 43.

² L. Aikin, *Works of Mrs. A. L. Barbauld*, i, ix, xi.

Bright quotes a letter received from Lucy Aikin :

Both "bouts rimés" and "vers de société" were in fashion with the set. Once it was their custom to slip anonymous pieces into Mrs. Priestley's work-bag. One "copy of verses", a very eloquent one, puzzled all guessers a long time; at length it was traced to Dr. Priestley's self. Somebody was bold enough to talk of getting up private theatricals. This was a dreadful business! All the wise and grave, the whole tutorhood cried out, It must not be! The students, the Rigbys, and, I must add, my aunt, took the prohibition very sulkily, and my aunt's "Ode to Wisdom" was the result.

In that Ode the following lines will suffice to show its connection with the incident :

Wisdom! thine empire I disclaim,
Thou empty boast of pompous name!
In gloomy shade of cloisters dwell,
But never haunt my cheerful cell.
Hail to Pleasure's frolic train!
Hail to Fancy's golden reign!
Festive Mirth, and Laughter wild.

It was the Rigbys of whom it is said: "On one occasion they had asked some of the students to supper. Hams and trifles and potted beef and other luxuries were placed before them, and the students were asked to help the ladies. But the hams were made of wood, and the trifles were plates of soapsuds, and the potted beef was potted sawdust, and the other luxuries were equally tempting and equally tantalizing."

Alas for the irresistible Rigby girls! Their winsomeness and their frolics became widely known to parents and guardians of the young men, and the Academy authorities had even to insist on their banishment from home for a season in the interests of the students, though their brother was one of them and their parents caterers of the Academy Commons.

It may have been in the period of 1770-3 when the Rigbys prepared their famous repast, for then it was that Caleb Hillier Parry, son of a dissenting minister, was a student in the Academy. He graduated M.D. at Edinburgh in 1778, and in the same year married Sally Rigby, described as ¹ "no less celebrated for her beauty than for her amiable disposition and engaging manners". The marriage took place at Palgrave Church, where Barbauld had his chapel, and his wife wrote for it a hymn still found in many collections, and included by James Martineau in his hymnals, beginning :

How blest the sacred tie that binds
In union sweet according minds!
How swift the heavenly course they run
Whose hearts, whose faith, whose hopes are one!

Parry settled at Bath, became a Fellow of the Royal Society, and one of the most distinguished physicians in the country.

To the end of life, Mrs. Barbauld held in affectionate regard the

¹ W. Munk, *Roll of the Royal College of Physicians*, London, ii, 386.

Academy, its tutors, and its friends. A lifelong friend was Mrs. Priestley. Mary Wilkinson, a woman of wit, character, and capacity, as a girl of eighteen, changed her name for Priestley in 1762, and soon became Miss Aikin's fast friend. "She proved herself an unequalled housewife . . . was a woman of culture and reading, and, with a most dainty and incisive pen, wrote the best letter of any woman of her time."¹ Anna Letitia was three years older than Mary, and a great admirer of her husband, so that the Priestley home became her own second home. To Mrs. Priestley she addressed lines "With Some Drawings of Birds and Insects", of which the first and last verses suffice to illustrate the relations between the two women, and the interests of their circle.

Amanda bids :—at her command again
 I seize the pencil or resume the pen ;
 No other call my willing hand requires,
 And Friendship, better than a Muse inspires.

 Thy friend thus strives to cheat the lonely hour
 With song or paint, an insect or a flower :—
 Yet if Amanda praise the flowing line,
 And bend delighted o'er the gay design,
 I envy not nor emulate the fame
 Or of the painter's or the poet's name ;
 Could I to both with equal claim pretend ;
 Yet far, far dearer were the name of Friend.

She made in verse "An Inventory of the Furniture in Dr. Priestley's study", chiefly of books and his then scanty apparatus. In the Birmingham Riots of July, 1791, all these and more were destroyed, including unpublished manuscripts of lectures delivered at Warrington. One who was on the scene early wrote to Priestley :

The road for half a mile of my approach was strewed with your books, the mob were carrying others away, and there were not above twelve octavos on the shelves, when I entered the room, the floor of which was totally covered, two or three inches deep, with torn leaves, chiefly manuscript.

Mrs. Barbauld's sketch reveals at once the treasures of Priestley and the sharp eyes of his fair visitor. The poem opens with an obvious reference to his maps and charts used in his lectures on history.

A map of every country known,
 With not a foot of land his own.
 A list of folks that kicked a dust
 On this poor globe from Ptol. the First.

 A group of all the British kings,
 Fair emblem ! on a packthread swings.
 The Fathers, ranged in goodly row,
 A decent, venerable show.

¹ Alex. Gordon, Lecture on Joseph Priestley in *Heads of English Unit. Hist.*, p. 124.

A Juvenal to hunt for mottoes ;
 And Ovid's tale of nymphs and grottoes.
 The meek-robed lawyers, all in white ;
 Pure as the lamb—at least, to sight.
 A shelf of bottles, jar and phial,
 By which the rogues he can defy all.

.....
 A rare thermometer, by which
 He settles, to the nicest pitch,
 The just degree of heat, to raise
 Sermons, or politics, or plays.
 Papers and books, a strange mixed olio,
 From shilling touch to pompous folio.
 New books, like new-born infants, stand,
 Waiting the printer's clothing hand ;—
 Others, a motley ragged brood,
 Their limbs unfashioned all, and rude.

.....
 " But what is this ", I hear you cry,
 " Which saucily provokes the eye ?—
 A thing unknown, without a name,
 Born of the air and doomed to flame."

The last jest, in view of what happened nearly thirty years later, is tinged with sadness.

When almost four decades had passed, Mrs. Barbauld, in her " Characters " (1800), depicts one of the aged trustees of the Academy, the old mother of a distinguished student—and Dr. Priestley. As she muses on all that has happened to the one-time tutor, now scientist, publicist, and political refugee, her memory is flooded with recollections of the Academy, and their common interests and social intercourse.

Champion of Truth, Alike through Nature's field,
 And where in sacred leaves she shines revealed,—
 Alike in both, eccentric, piercing, bold,
 Like his own lightnings, which no chains can hold
 He seeks no armour for a naked heart :

.....
 But O forgive, if touched with fond regret,
 Fancy recalls the scene she can't forget,
 Recalls the vacant smile, the social hours
 Which charmed us once, for once those scenes were ours !
 And while thy praises through wide realms extend,
 We sit in shades, and mourn the absent friend.

One of the problems never satisfactorily solved at Warrington was how best to house the youths so as to avoid the troubles more or less incident to their age and circumstances, and others which were not foreseen, and were not unrelated to the shortsightedness of their parents and guardians. " Plan after plan was tried, and plan after plan failed. Did the students lodge, as at first, in the Tutors' houses—they fell in love with the young ladies, and studied anything rather than the divinity,

and belles lettres, and logic, and rhetoric, which were the supposed attractions of the place. Did they live together, as afterwards they did live, in a range of college rooms—they got into debt, they played mad pranks in the town, and cost Mr. Seddon and then Dr. Enfield, their Rectors, many a long hour of anxiety and wretchedness.”¹

When the Tutors housed the men, it was resolved, in order to control the relations of “gown and town”, that “no student be permitted to board in any family in town whatsoever unless it be totally inconvenient for one of the Tutors to receive him.”

Thomas Barnes, looking back in 1785 on the Academy, singled out the provision in 1767 of collegiate accommodation for students as the fatal step in the career of the institution. He characterized it as a “dangerous experiment”, adding “If, indeed, the number of divinity students might have been expected to be so great as to bear a decided superiority over those destined for the other professions, their influence, it might be hoped, would have been favourable to all the ends in view. But when this is not the case, the safer maxim seems to be ‘to divide, in order to govern’. By this means it will be much easier to counteract the dangers arising from the artifices of the designing, the audaciousness of the bold, and the seductions of the less principled. This is the general plan of foreign universities; it is the plan which chiefly prevails in those of our Sister Kingdoms; this was the plan at Warrington, in its first and purest stage. . . .”

From the second Academy building it proved easier than formerly for students to find their way to town by day or by night. A few of them by nature were unruly cubs—“Hot-blooded Irishmen and still more hot-blooded young West Indians”.

Attempts made by advertisements of the Academy to increase the number of students seem to have led to an indiscriminate admission of all and sundry. It was part of the price paid by a public academy open to all as opposed to a private academy, selecting suitable candidates for the ministry, or admitting men only on the recommendation of known friends.

One such advertisement appeared four times in *The Templar*, during November, 1773. Samuel Paterson, a bookseller and auctioneer, published *The Templar*, a periodical of which only fourteen numbers appeared, “designed as a protest against the advertising of ecclesiastical offices and places of trust under the government”. Probably its objects commended it to the Whig reformers in charge of the Academy. In 1777 an advertisement appeared in a more reputable advertising medium, the *London Chronicle*, for which Samuel Johnson wrote the “preliminary discourse” in 1757. This advertisement reproduced *verbatim et literatim* what passed for the Report of the Academy, July, 1777. That was a single sheet,

¹ H. A. Bright, *Ut supra*.

quarto, printed only on the face, and was, in fact, only a prospectus, giving names of officers, committee, subjects of instruction, names of tutors, etc. It differed from the Report of 1776 only by the omission of the words "The Christmas Vacation (a fortnight), having been attended with material inconveniences, it is determined to continue Business without interruption through the Session". The "material inconveniences" may refer to the dilatory habits of pupils returning late after the holiday, or, possibly, to some form of "ragging" with which the return was celebrated.

The advertisements were intended to procure the entrance of youths able to pay all the dues of the Academy, and thus assist in balancing the expenditure on poor divinity students to whom financial assistance was given in the shape of free tuition. Their admission, however, created another problem. As early as January, 1769, correspondence between Seddon and a Bristol merchant shows that an over-fond parent, within a few months, had sent his son, a boy of fourteen, two sums of five and ten pounds, and was then sorry to learn that the boy "had not been so industrious", and had run through his pocket-money. The father consequently begged Seddon "to undertake the task of keeping cash for the boy, and oversee his laying it out". A year earlier (August, 1768), Samuel Vaughan had complained bitterly to Seddon of the expenses incurred by his two sons during a period of ten months:

Ben's £112 . . . Billy's £59 12s., and of the consequences of the expence . . . levity, love of pleasure, dissipation, and affectation of smartness . . .

He had thought they would

imbibe good morals, acquire knowledge, and obtain a manly and solid way of thinking and acting.

He found them

returned with high ideas of modern refinements, of dress and external accomplishments. . . . As one instance, they think it a sight to appear without having their hair frissened, and this must be done by a dresser, even upon the Sabbath. No person can more wish for and encourage an open and liberal way of thinking and acting than myself, yet do I think that day should be kept with ancient solemnity. . . . Any relaxation or innovation under sanction of such a seminary as yours may have the most pernicious tendency. . . .

A letter from "Ben" by the same post said "none of us have been vicious, but only gay". Next year, however, this "affectionate but distressed pupil", as he signed himself, has to admit that he had "promised such strict amendment" and "had as many excuses last year as at present . . . journies [*sic*] music etc., but had spent £7 more in the present year of pennance [*sic*] and repentance".

Doubtless the presence and company of the charming young Warrington ladies were not remotely connected with the fashions in hair and the

craze for music affected by the Vaughans. Both of them made good, and became distinguished *alumni* of the Academy.¹

In 1773 a rule was introduced obviously intended to prevent dandies from extravagantly adorning their persons at the expense of parents. "No student shall wear gold or silver lace on any part of his cloaths, laced ruffles, silk coat, waistcoat or breeches, or fine silk stockings."

In the Academy Report for 1788, allowances and debts are thus mentioned: "If any friends of the Students in this Academy choose to entrust the Tutors with the care of Incidental Expenses, they are requested to remit in advance such sums as they shall think sufficient, that the Students may not be under the necessity of taking credit with the Tradesmen." The note is not repeated in later Reports. Apparently not all parents welcomed the suggestion and, as no limit was set to the amount of allowances, when adopted, it probably proved ineffective. The youth with money in his pocket, whether received directly or indirectly, could always count upon supporters in any enterprise, however daring. The difficulty of the situation arose in part from the Academy being at one and the same time something of a public school as well as a college, with the traditions of neither, whilst regulations appropriate to the one were inappropriate to the other. Hence a policy was pursued by the trustees that tended to halt between two opinions in an institution, which, struggling to make ends meet, was always reluctant, except in the last resort, to practise expulsion.

In 1767 John Seddon was appointed Rector *Academiæ*, and disciplinary measures, hitherto the affair of tutors generally, became the concern of one man. Various attempts were made, none very successful, to maintain order in the Academy. A weekly register of offences was kept, and read by the Rector every Saturday morning to all the assembled students. If this did not suffice to put an end to unlawful proceedings, delinquents were to be given "a proper exercise", presumably literary, and every quarter the Committee was to report to parents and guardians. If this, too, proved ineffective, offenders were to be expelled from the Academy. Later, an attempt was made to promote discipline by emulation in good conduct, and a "Bill of Merit", periodically read before the whole body of students, marked the election by senior pupils to an honourable position of those whose record was untarnished.

In his Funeral Sermon for Seddon, 1770, Philip Holland, in the presence of staff, students, and supporters of the institution, made a personal appeal to the young men.

It is with pleasure, but not without anxiety, that the Friends of virtue and religion turn their eyes on such a society as yours.

¹ See pp. 105-6.

He expressed the hope that the students would

enrich their minds with the sentiments of prudence, integrity and true devotion . . . prove the honour and grace of their friends, and become useful members of society. . . . But, at the same time, we cannot dismiss our fears lest bad principles should infect your minds ; the contagion of evil examples should rob you of your innocence ; you should be seduced by the love of pleasure and spoiled by a constant dissipation . . .

From exhortation the Committee (29 June, 1780) passed to practical measures designed to circumvent the nightly exploits of the students. It was resolved "that there shall in future be no back door" to the students' quarters, and that "a wall be erected about that part of the quadrangle not yet built upon".

The absence of doors and the presence of walls have never yet kept students in who meant to get out. Indeed, at Warrington, "the stable door was locked when the horse was stolen", in other words, the mischief was done, and glorious traditions of successful "rags" remained to stimulate and inspire the energies of succeeding generations.

Turner pictured the situation, and spoke of "the insults to which Dr. Enfield was exposed by the profligate outcasts of our public schools, who had learned all the evil without any of the good of those establishments, and were sent hither as a sort of 'dernier ressort'—and by the pampered petting of large fortune, who from the treatment he had seen given, and been allowed himself to give to, his private tutor at home, had learned to consider every tutor as a sort of upper servant . . ."

Many were the stories of the practical jokes played in the town by such men. There were of course no police to interfere with law-breakers, only a few beadles, or night-watchmen with rattles, and little if any organized public opinion in support of law and order, especially maybe, when the offenders were young gentlemen from the Academy, who might be trusted to pay substantial damage for "sowing their wild oats", and were reckoned by tradesmen, and above all, by innkeepers amongst their best customers.

"One morning", says Bright, "the landlords of the different inns in Warrington might have been seen with bewildered looks gazing up to the sign-boards which swung above their hospitable doors. Well might they be bewildered ! In a single night the "Red Lion" had become the "Roebuck", the "Nag's Head" was the "Golden Horse Shoe", the "Royal Oak" had changed places with the "Griffin", and the "George and Dragon" appeared now as the "Eagle and Child".

This prank, one of many, was probably an inspiration of Archibald Hamilton Rowan, the Irishman who was tried for sedition in 1792. He had spent a year, 1768-9, at Warrington, probably on the recommendation of John Jebb his tutor, when "rusticated" from Cambridge. Heir to a great fortune, he had "fallen into a fast set" at Queen's College, Cam-

bridge, and "speedily became more remarkable for his dogs and hunters and feats of strength than for love of learning", and so, according to a contemporary, "after coolly attempting to throw a tutor into the Cam, after shaking all Cambridge from its propriety by a night's frolic (in which he climbed the signposts and changed the principal signs) he was rusticated."¹

Bright printed Seddon's severe letter to Rowan, 2 August, 1769, in which he referred to the "clandestine manner" in which he left Warrington, adding:

You were told very plainly and freely on what terms your continuance there depended; you promised to comply with them; but you have acted contrary to them in every instance; there is no dependence to be had on your resolutions and promises; and therefore I beg to repeat to you, what has several times been said to you, that you had better retire from the Academy at Warrington, and not expose yourself to the disgrace of being dismissed in another manner.

There remained the matter of Rowan's debts which his London agents settled in due course. Dr. W. H. Drummond, who edited Rowan's *Autobiography* (1840), after speaking of his rustication at Cambridge, says "he found a retreat where his time might be profitably spent under good Dr. Enfield in Warrington Academy . . . rather perhaps as a visitor than a resident pupil. He has been heard to say that Letitia Aikin, afterwards Mrs. Barbauld, was his first love".² The profit he gained from his stay at Warrington must have been so slight that it is not quite absurd to describe him "rather as a visitor than a resident pupil", but the "good Dr. Enfield" was not at Warrington when Rowan was there.

A prominent interest of students at Warrington is apparent in a letter written by William Turner to his brother a few weeks after he entered the Academy in 1777.

This is the barrenest place for news I ever was in. We do not much seek for it, nor have we much association with the town. I have not read a newspaper since I came here. Americans may be all cut to pieces for aught I know.

Whilst at school in Bolton Turner had been regularly informed as to the progress of the war with the colonies by his father, who continued the practice when writing to Warrington, frequently quoting at length from letters received from his correspondents in London and America. Such news of the campaigns, largely unreported or misreported in the English press, was more than welcome to other enthusiasts for freedom in the Academy.

The political opinions of students in war-time are apt to be somewhat warm. Those of Warrington men during the American Revolution were also dangerous, because opposed to the policy of the government. "Strong Whigs, and sometimes more, as the Tutors were, they were

¹ *Autobiography of A. H. Rowan*, p. 42. Also *D.N.B.*, s.v. ² *Ibid.*, p. 44.

alarmed and terrified at the anti-English zeal which was displayed by several of the Students. One of them who boarded at Dr. Enfield's insisted on his right to illuminate *his* own windows for an American victory, but this the Doctor declined to allow, as it committed himself, the master of the house." ¹

The students were certainly over-zealous, but their insight into the significance of what was happening in America revealed more realism than that of the editors of the *Annual Register* and the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The one journal did not print the Declaration of Independence of 1776, and in the other it followed an account of a lady and gentleman expert in hairdressing.

Two manuscript letters from John Yates, a divinity student, afterwards an influential Liverpool minister and philanthropist, throw further light on the Academy from 1776 to 1782. The first, dated 21 February, 1776, is addressed to "J. Pem(berton) Heywood, Christ's College, Cambridge", who had been a student at the Academy (entered 1772), and migrated to Cambridge, where he was a pupil of Dr. Paley. He became a barrister, and one of the trustees of the Lady Hewley Fund. Yates, after speaking of his reading—"Pliny, Vergil, Sir Charles Grandison", says :

I have been so fully engaged with Divinity, Chymistry, Hebrew and French that I have had no time to give to anything else. . . . We have been so exceedingly regular in conduct and attentive to business that the Tutors have expressed their satisfaction in the highest terms. There have been very few riots till about a month or two since, and the general conduct of the students has been unexceptionable. Yet amidst this calm a storm arose the last week but one from the expulsion of two students without any previous notice or former reproof. These two young fellows, whose names are Aspinwall,² were not guilty of any enormous crime, but more, in general, indolent and extravagant. They invited one night some Gentlemen out of the town to sup with them, and after getting drunk made an excessive great riot, and disturbance in the building, and the day after rode out of town and staid four or five days longer than they were allowed. Upon these two facts the Tutors grounded their expulsion. They were both youths of good dispositions, but could not be happy together, and were always encouraging each other's love of Buckism. The Tutors have received one of them again, and he behaves exceedingly well, and I hope will continue to do so. . . .

I think the Academy is in a better state than it has been for several years ; there are twenty-six men, many of them are very sensible and agreeable gentlemen—only six or seven leave the Academy at the vacation. . . .

But things went steadily from bad to worse, and six years later Yates writes in a different strain when addressing Samuel Vaughan, the Bristol merchant, whose two sons had been at the Academy and conspicuous for their abilities in running up bills by their extravagance. He speaks

¹ H. A. Bright, *Ut supra*.

² T. Aspinall, of Clitheroe ; Henry Aspinall, of Ormskirk, afterwards a London solicitor.

of the "very declining state" of the Academy, and of his own "despondency" with respect to its future.

Our present number of students is only 17; of these only eight are expected to return . . .

He then remarks on the lack of proper discipline for "youths from 14 to 18 years of age free from all domestic restraints", continuing

Irregularities have from time to time unavoidably arisen, which have at length, I am afraid, led the public to form a decided judgment against the Academy. I could lay before you many circumstances which confirm this suspicion. Of these the principal are: That our supplies have of late been chiefly from quarters where the Academy is little known, very few being sent from London, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and other large towns, which might seem to promise many students. Through the influence of Mr. Bright, Bristol is an exception to this remark, but it is the only one. Another striking fact is that of the Trustees, who must be supposed to be best acquainted with the Academy, there is scarcely an individual who would choose to trust his son in the Academical building.

Yates then mentions a forthcoming meeting of the Trustees to be held on 8 January, 1783, to consider the situation.

The Rules of the Academy were strict enough, and they were accepted, at least formally, by the students. "Visits to taverns" and "places of public diversions", "games of chance", "the contraction of debts," "intimacy with persons of immoral character", "riding out of town without leave", and "absence from apartments after ten o'clock in the evening," were forbidden.

It was easier to make Rules than to enforce them, especially as their enforcement in the collegiate building was mainly dependent upon the reports and action of senior students, in the absence of Tutors resident on the premises. Students from 14 to 18 years of age were neither boys nor men, and some of the older students exercised their leadership in bold defiance of the Academy's rules. Dr. Enfield, in a long letter, 17 January, 1783, lamented that

an idle waste of time, a coarse and vulgar familiarity, a disposition towards riot and mischief, intemperance, and in some instances, profaneness and licentious manners have found their way into a seminary intended to train up youths in habits of sobriety and virtue.

Then, by a singular coincidence, if it be one, he illustrates the public lack of faith in the Academy by pointing, in almost the exact words of Yates eighteen days earlier, to the lack of students from towns where the Academy is known. He continues:

The regular execution of the code of academical laws has proved insufficient to counteract the strong temptations, which have arisen from a situation in which the students have been free from the restraints of domestic orders, and in a great measure both by day and night masters of their own time and actions.

Finally, he pleads for "a domestic plan of education", that is, that the students should live as at first in the homes of the tutors.

Wakefield, in a characteristic letter six days later, which he did not include in his *Memoirs*, contrasted the Academy with the universities in a shrewd discussion of the situation :

In this Seminary the students are allowed all the liberty and self-management of a college life, without the counterbalance of those numerous restraints, whether of authority or interest, by which licentiousness may be either prevented or exterminated in an University. The students are thrown together in a large and detached house ; a situation that admits of little or no inspection from their tutors ; in colleges the apartments of the fellows and of others in authority are so interspersed throughout the buildings, as to render the commission of any great irregularities very liable to detection.

Now if we consider the emoluments of an university ; the importance of degrees to the generality of members, which depends more or less upon their conduct ; the reverence for authority, still entertained in those places of education, and the decisive execution (invariably consequent on grosser misconduct) which constitutes a very considerable check on every class of students ; it cannot be expected (and experience confirms the presumption) that those parents who confess themselves dissatisfied with the degenerate manners of the universities, will prefer a place of education where the hazards are so similar, and the prospects of worldly advantage are so far inferior ; unless this place be distinguished by superior strictness of discipline, or a better probability of literary improvement.

He proceeds to show that the Academy is not such a place ; the failure in discipline being due to the housing of the students, and to their youth ; and their educational shortcomings mainly due to the defects in classical training. He adds :

The acceptance of pecuniary commutations for neglect of duty is at once a proof and a cause of laxity of discipline. The grievance is manifest, but the remedy, in a Seminary which has no political immunities, no ample endowments, and no hereditary dignity to engage obedience, will not be so easily discovered . . .

Various expedients for continuing the work of the Academy were explored. Nothing availed. The end was at hand.

It must not be overlooked that as in the modern press the ordinary activities of sober-minded citizens go unreported whilst abnormal or evil conduct is fully reported, so the records of law-abiding students at Warrington have received little attention from those interested in the history of the Academy, though happily a few letters from them to Seddon have survived, expressing their indebtedness to their *alma mater*.

The misdemeanours of the students in themselves would merit little space in an exposition of the life and influence of the Academy, had they not constituted a major cause of its early dissolution.

From what has been already said, it is at least manifest that students were not driven to evil courses for lack of provision of reasonable recreation indoors and out of doors.

CHAPTER VI

WARRINGTON ACADEMY

ITS DISSOLUTION, 1780-86

By the year 1780 the financial situation of the Academy was such that the need for economy was urgent. Already, 27 June, 1776, it had been resolved "That till the debt of the Academy be reduced, and the funds will admit of it, the exhibitions to divinity students, except those to whom they have already been granted, shall be discontinued".

This measure struck a severe blow at students who entered for the full academical course. Only seven students settled in the nonconformist ministry, who entered the Academy after the date named. There were two reasons for this, the first, financial, the second, partly theological. The beggarly stipends, ranging from £30 to £100, of dissenting ministers, whose sons formed the great majority of candidates for the ministry, did not permit them to pay full fees for a long course of training at the Academy. In general, they relied upon the grants of external funds, and admission free, or at reduced rates, to lectures. Then congregations began to be suspicious of Warrington as a source for ministers or even pulpit supplies, in view of disturbances there of which exaggerated rumours reached them. Moreover, when Priestley, after leaving the Academy, published his *Theological Repository* and other challenging doctrinal treatises, not a few Dissenters, wrongly identifying the Academy with the later opinions of its former tutor, would have nothing to do with it. We read, for example, that as early as 1768 a William Dix declared himself "long dissatisfied with the young Preachers from Warrington who supplied during Mr. Chidlaw's illness".¹ John Chidlaw was colleague of John Gardner at Chester, 1751-65, and sole minister 1765-98. As H. D. Roberts said ² of the secession from Chester in 1768: "These Warrington students, whose generous search for truth and eager expositions seem to have given offence to certain in the congregation, had been under the influence of Priestley." Again, Job Orton, of Shrewsbury, writing to a Daventry student in 1777, said

I wish the Daventry people had more life, and that they would study the art of speaking more. They do this very much at Warrington, but there they are too shy and philosophoc in their compositions, and do not come home to men's consciences as every minister should do.

¹ Quoted by H. D. Roberts from the Thompson MS. in Dr. Williams's Library; *Matthew Henry and His Chapel*, p. 141.

² *Ibid.*, p. 133.

With the more radical development of Priestley's theology, distrust of the Academy by congregations containing differing doctrinal opinions became more pronounced, and in the same year Josiah Wedgwood tells of opposition to the appointment to the congregation at Newcastle-under-Lyme of a student by "a Scottish member, whose spiritual stomach was so squeamish that it turned against everything coming from Warrington Academy".

For all these reasons the number of ministerial candidates at the Academy declined.

On 11 March, 1779, two lecturers, Messrs. Bright and Hulme, were compelled, for reasons of economy, to be content to "take the whole fees arising from their respective departments as their stipends", and nothing directly from the Academy.

Meanwhile subscribers to the Academy steadily declined in numbers. They received no annual statements of its financial position, and, being less ignorant of the conduct of some of its students, turned a deaf ear to all appeals for increased support.

In March, 1779, Dr. Enfield resigned his offices 'as Tutor in Belles Lettres, Rector, and Secretary of the Academy, and was appointed Tutor in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, with charge also of the class in Elocution. During the interval after Dr. Aikin's death and before the appointment of another tutor, Gilbert Wakefield lectured to divinity students, and was voted an additional honorarium of twenty guineas for this service. No successor to Enfield as Rector *Academiæ* was appointed, and discipline again became the common concern of the tutors generally.

In September, 1780, Nicholas Clayton (1730-97), then of Liverpool, was appointed Tutor in Divinity. He was a scholar of some distinction. One of his schoolmasters had planted in him a great aptitude for mathematical studies. From school in 1748 he entered Northampton Academy under Dr. Doddridge, on whose death he went to Daventry, to which town the famous academy had been transferred under the direction of Dr. Caleb Ashworth. Thence he migrated to Glasgow University to complete his studies. Here one of his fellow-students was George Walker, afterwards a tutor at Warrington. An old student of the Academy, who also went to Glasgow, recalled how Professor John Millar, of Glasgow, spoke "with great delight of these associates of his early studies".

From 1760 to 1763, Clayton was in the ministry at Lincoln; from 1763 to 1771 at the Octagon Chapel, Liverpool, and on the failure of that experiment in liturgical dissenting services, he removed with many members of the congregation to Benn's Garden, where he remained until 1781. He was President of the Liverpool Library in 1769. Whilst in Liverpool he had coached Dr. Enfield in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and provided him with much of the apparatus used at the

Academy.¹ He was an effective preacher, and often preached in the meeting-house at Warrington.

In 1779, after preaching there, some of the students present did him the honour of requesting permission to print the discourse. He sent them the manuscript, but politely declined the request. Dr. Aikin is said to have remarked that "he never heard a sermon from Mr. Clayton that was not fit to be immediately sent to the press".

In January, 1782, Clayton received the degree of D.D. from the University of Edinburgh. Principal Robertson, the historian, moved the conferment of the degree on the recommendation of Thomas Butterworth Bayley, an old Edinburgh student, and in sending the diploma to Clayton, said :

As I have long been acquainted with the liberal principles which give rise to the institution of the Academy at Warrington it was with great pleasure I embraced the opportunity, which my friend Mr. Bayley presented to me, of procuring a literary honour for a person entrusted with a very important department in that seminary of learning.

The Academy paid the fee (£12 7s. 6d.) for the diploma. Edward Percival, in his *Memoir* of his father, wrongly credits Dr. Percival with securing Clayton's academic honour. William Turner reports that Clayton's own university of Glasgow was actually considering the conferment of a similar degree upon him when it was anticipated by Edinburgh. Bayley, grandson of James Bayley, a prominent promoter of the Academy, was a Vice-President of it, a founder of the Manchester (afterwards the Royal Lancashire) Agricultural Society, and an enthusiastic worker for the abolition of the slave trade.

During the years 1781-2, Clayton was in charge of lectures on Logic, Metaphysics and Morals, and responsible for a course in Divinity ; Enfield lectured on Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, History, Commerce, Geography, and Elocution ; Wakefield on Classics, whilst Aikin lectured on Chemistry and Anatomy, Mr. Hulme on French, and Bright on purely commercial subjects.

By the end of 1782 there were only seventeen students in residence, of whom eight only were expected to return after the vacation. Dr. Clayton had little to do in Divinity, since, as one consequence of the suspension of bursaries for ministerial candidates, there was only a single student in Divinity.

In January, 1783, as we have seen, Enfield and Wakefield submitted their views on the reasons for the failure of the institution.² Next month they declined to consider a suggestion that, on the retirement of Dr. Clayton, they might conduct the Academy "wholly at their own risk and responsibility", and resigned.

¹ See p. 26.

² See pp. 97-8.

Teaching was now suspended. Benjamin Vaughan, writing to Samuel Heywood, 3 September, 1783, expressed his willingness to make good his promised liability in respect of the debt on the Academy buildings, though my expenses at Paris, my debts before marriage, and some losses in adventure, together with my settling myself as a house-keeper, prevent my having money at this instant to advance. . . . Dr. Clayton has been with me. I thought it my duty to tell him that it was proper for him to provide for himself by purchasing an annuity with a part of his fortune, as I did not find a zeal in his favor sufficient to persuade me that the parties concerned thought themselves bound to take him up. At the same time, I think it my duty to tell you that Dr. Clayton has been very ill-used, and that whenever the affairs of the institution are re-established or liquidated, a further provision ought to be made for him . . .

Ultimately a sum of a hundred guineas was voted to Dr. Clayton "as a consideration of the peculiar circumstances attending his case as late tutor". In 1785 he became colleague of George Walker at Nottingham, returned to Liverpool in 1795, and died two years later. Enfield remained at Warrington, where, in addition to his ministerial duties, he took charge for a couple of years of a few pupils, and with them, was allowed the use of the Academy library and apparatus. In 1785 he removed to the Octagon Chapel, Norwich, and remained there until his death, 3 November, 1797.

An attempt was made, July, 1783, to unite Warrington Academy with Daventry, then under the capable and liberal direction of Thomas Belsham, who, at the request of the Warrington trustees, furnished them with a complete statement of the course of studies, fees, and conditions at Daventry. The attempt failed, chiefly because the Coward Trust, which supported Daventry, could not accept the terms of union proposed, being committed "to the education of divinity students in a particular way". As Richard Bright, an old student of Warrington, observed in comments on the negotiations: "Belsham may be a liberal-minded man, but the spirit of the institution and the supporters of it are well known to be quite the contrary." On 24 September, 1784, the Trustees of Warrington unanimously resolved "that the Academy shall not now be dissolved", but the number (18) present at the meeting suggested that faith in its future was rapidly fading away. T. B. Bayley, F.R.S., Vice-President of the Academy, wrote:

I have withdrawn myself intirely from all further connexion or concern about the Academy at Warrington. I am satisfied that my talents lye not this way, and am quite content with the share of labour and expense I have had.

The committee then explored the possibility of a "domestic plan" for a revived institution. Writing to Samuel Heywood, 27 November, 1784, John Yates, answering enquiries, said they did "not concur in the propriety of giving to the public the reasons for suspension", nor did they think "it expedient to publish a statement of the accounts" of moneys spent, though one could be had on application. He thought the Academy had justified itself "in the gentlemen educated there",

and in "the dissenting ministers settled in some of the most respectable congregations". It was not intended, while "the education of ministers would be the primary object" in future, to exclude others. Students would "live in the homes of the tutors, so that lectures will be in public and the discipline private". He admits, however, that "though many persons in Warrington have been always ready to magnify and to publish every evil, it is the possession of the buildings that alone induces the committee to continue at Warrington, and they will change it without reluctance whenever a more eligible site can be found".

In June, 1785, another suggestion, made by Yates on behalf of Warrington, was that Belsham should "conduct the Warrington Academy, and some other person Daventry".¹ The Warrington congregation also invited him to their ministry. Next month, 2 July, Yates concludes another appeal to Belsham:

I cannot but consider the office of Divinity Tutor and Minister at Warrington to be the most honourable and advantageous in England, because there is no other person connected with so many independent and liberal men, nor having such unbounded scope for usefulness. It would be every thing which this kingdom wants in a seminary of education.

Belsham apparently did not take so lofty a view of the situation at Warrington, and, from later observations, was not sure that his teaching would be acceptable there.

I was inclined to do it [accept] because I found that my opinions are deviating from orthodoxy, though I had not at that time gone beyond high Arianism. But I thought I was still too orthodox for Warrington.

In the latter point, Belsham was mistaken, for Warrington tutors never advanced beyond what was called Arianism. Later, when he became a Unitarian, that is, humanitarian in Christology, and resigned his position at Daventry, he frankly confessed² that his continuance there had become impossible: "The true cause of my resignation is, that by becoming a Unitarian, I incapacitated myself from answering the end for which the institution is established, and for which I was chosen to preside in it."

Not until 1786 was the attempt to revive the Academy at Warrington finally abandoned. Meanwhile liberal Dissenters in Manchester and London had become more interested in schemes for establishing academies in those towns, and had withdrawn their support from Warrington.

Principal Robertson, of Glasgow, writing 6 November, 1785, to Dr. Percival, who was enlisting his support for a new venture in Manchester, said:

I had so many opportunities of being acquainted with the abilities of the masters and the proficiency of the students in the Academy at Warrington, that I could not but think favourably of the institution, and regret the dissolution of it.

¹ John Williams, *Memoirs of Thomas Belsham*, p. 261.

² *Ibid.*, p. 392.

On 23 February, 1786, Manchester Academy was established, largely on the initiative of Percival.

Writing from Birmingham, 17 May, 1786, Priestley said :

We are to have a meeting here about the future of Warrington Academy, but there is a strong bias in favour of Manchester.

The result of the foundation of academies in London and Manchester was to bring matters to a head at Warrington. On 29 June, 1786, at the Annual Meeting of Warrington Trustees, it was resolved : " It is the opinion of this meeting that the present Academy at Warrington cannot be continued ", and " That this Academy be now dissolved by a Majority, viz., 54 voted and proxies ". Twenty-five trustees were present, and twenty-nine voted by proxy. It was further resolved " That . . . the Surplus Money after the sale of the buildings and the discharge of the debts be equally divided between the intended academies in or near London and in Manchester " . . . and " That the Library shall be sent to the Academy at Manchester, and the Apparatus to the Academy at London ".

From 1757 to 1786 the total expenditure on Warrington Academy amounted to £17,994, including salaries, bursaries, buildings, and incidental expenses, not including grants to students from outside funds—no great sum, even in those days, for the wealthy subscribers to the institution to find.

There are two lists of students educated at the Academy ; one published by William Turner in the *Monthly Repository* of 1813, and one in manuscript compiled by an earlier student at the Academy.

A comparison of these gives 395 students during the less than thirty years of life which the Academy enjoyed. Of these, 22 either came from or went to the West Indies, 21 went in for medicine, 24 for law, 10 for the army, about 100 for business, and 55 were divinity students. The number in residence at the same time varied from five in 1757 to thirty-one in 1759. These numbers are small in comparison with those of earlier academies like Northampton, Homerton, and Hoxton. The failure of Warrington to attract more men was due in part to the smaller constituency of radical Dissenters and liberal churchmen from which it chiefly drew its pupils. One or two Quakers enrolled as students, but no Baptists and few Independents appear to have entered the Academy. But the main causes of the dissolution of the Academy must be sought elsewhere—in the personal, religious, and political controversies which attended its infancy and growth, its complete lack of endowments, extravagant expenditure in buildings, inefficient handling of finance, and its ill repute for lack of discipline.

Amongst the students were Thomas Barnes, D.D., and Ralph Harrison, the first tutors at Manchester Academy ; John Aikin, M.D., lecturer at Warrington ; Thomas Percival, M.D., F.R.S., founder of the Manchester

Literary and Philosophical Society; T. R. Malthus, the political economist; Edward Rigby, M.D., an eminent Norwich surgeon and Mayor of Norwich, 1805; Sir James Ibbetson, Sir James Carnegie; Daniel Bayley, son of Thomas Butterworth Bayley; Sir Hugh Munroe, Sir William Strickland, Sir Benjamin Dunbar, Sir John Scott, Lord Ennismore; George, 17th and last Lord Willoughby, of Parham; Henry Beaufoy, F.R.S., M.P.; William Bruce, D.D., principal of Belfast Academy; Nathaniel Alexander, successively bishop of Clonfort, Down and Connor, and Meath; Markham Salisbury, an eminent botanist; William Howell, divinity tutor at Caermarthen Academy when at Swansea; John Wedgwood, son of the great potter; Samuel Farr, translator of Hippocrates; George Forster, who accompanied his father on Cook's second voyage and was afterwards professor of natural history at Cassel; Samuel Galton, a Quaker philanthropist, a member of the Lunar Society and one of Priestley's most generous patrons; John Goodricke, son of Henry Goodricke, M.P., dumb from childhood, who in 1784 won the Copley Medal for his astronomical discoveries: Samuel Heywood, who proceeded to Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and was appointed Sergeant-at-Law 1795 and Chief Justice of Wales 1807; Benjamin Vaughan, who went to Cambridge, was engaged in the Treaty of Peace with France under Lord Shelburne's administration and afterwards made for himself a name in America; and his brother William Vaughan, F.R.S., F.L.S., F.R.A.S., merchant and author, sons of an American lady; John Prior Estlin, LL.D., a famous schoolmaster; Isaac Cookson, Sheriff of Newcastle, 1777; Caleb Hillier Parry, M.D., F.R.S., a famous physician and one of the most original agriculturists of his day; Benjamin Arthur and Nathaniel Heywood, nephews of the Academy treasurer, who as partners founded in 1788 a Manchester Bank represented to-day by the Williams Deacons Bank; W. J. Glanville, Agent for Barbadoes; Isaac Bough, Secretary to the Supreme Court of Calcutta; Richard Bright, merchant banker of Bristol whose brother was M.P. for the city in three parliaments; Edward Corry, brother to the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer; Samuel Yates Benyon, Attorney-General for the County of Chester; James Clark, Sheriff of Edinburgh; John Leland Maquay, a director of the Bank of Ireland and grandson of Dr. John Leland, writer on the Deists; Henry Laurens, son of a distinguished American statesman; Charles Joseph Harford, friend of Edmund Burke; Richard Enfield, town clerk of Nottingham; the grandsons of Calamy, the nonconformist historian, and of Doddridge, the famous tutor, and many other men of distinction in commerce and the professions.

The two brothers Vaughan, whose foppery as Warrington students had grieved the heart and lightened the pocket of their father, are both noticed in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Benjamin has also an honourable place in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, where it is

said that he "knew Shelburne intimately, was a close friend of Franklin, and was connected by marriage with Henry Laurens," the American statesman, father of the Warrington student. "Harvard bestowed the degree of LL.D. on him in 1807, and Bowdoin in 1812." His library, bequeathed to American colleges, "was said to have been the largest in New England with the exception of Harvard's".

The first Academy building is now in the possession of the Warrington Society, one of whose main objects is the preservation of relics of the Academy, its tutors, students, and friends.

Alderman Bennett, a prominent member of the Society and an ex-mayor of the town, by his will left £200 for providing and erecting memorial tablets on notable buildings in Warrington, including those of houses in which the tutors lived. A leader writer in *The Times*, 5 August, 1932, commenting on the bequest, said "The Academy is a famous episode in the history of Warrington. . . . It bore no mean witness to the principle that men and not money make an Academy. . . . As an experiment in all-round education Warrington remains something more than a curiosity. . . . If its influence could be fully traced, the ramifications would seem extraordinary for so small an institution."

Writing two years earlier, the Principal of the United College, Bradford (Congregational), said: ¹ "One of the last Dissenting Academies in the sense of a school of all the faculties as distinct from a purely theological seminary was that founded at Warrington in 1757. . . . There is a distinctly modern note about the Academy, which addressed itself to the education of merchants and bankers, as well as ministers, doctors and lawyers. . . . Indeed, although cut off from the main body of Dissent by its Unitarian associations, the Academy at Warrington represents the fullest expression of that broader and more humane conception of education which had been the distinctive contribution of Puritanism and Nonconformity through two centuries."

It might seem that in 1786 the influence of Warrington Academy ceased, apart from the personal contributions to learning and life subsequently made by such men as those already named, and, no less, by the tutors who survived its dissolution. It was not so. Its influence extended far, even beyond the Atlantic Ocean, through men like Benjamin Vaughan and Joseph Priestley, who settled in the United States, and through the writings of its tutors and students which circulated there as well as in England and, though to a less extent, on the Continent.

The Academy represented more fully than had hitherto been manifested the principle of "an all-round education", to be shared by all, first outlined by Puritan reformers of the seventeenth century like Comenius and Locke as an alternative to the traditional scheme of classical and theological education inherited from the Middle Ages.

¹ E. J. Price, art. "Dissenting Academies", *Trans. Cong. Hist. Soc.*, xi, 50.

“ With these innovators and reformers ”, we are told,¹ “ the idea of universal education came alive. . . . American education owes much to this alternative tradition in English education. . . . The story of Warrington Academy is an interesting illustration of the alternative tradition. . . . Its appeal was to all “ friends of religion, liberty, and learning ”.

Moreover, no fewer than three institutions, still flourishing, are for ever in debt to Warrington, and several schools, which have had their day, were admirably conducted by *alumni* of the Academy, and this extended its influence to later generations.

Twenty-two years before its doors were formally closed, the Academy had directly inspired the formation of a society (1764), whose object was the support of liberal dissenting ministers and their dependants, and thus, incidentally, of liberal Christianity. The birth of the society led in turn to the fusion of two separate Provincial Meetings of Ministers in Lancashire and Cheshire, and ultimately to the foundation of the existing Provincial Assembly of Lancashire and Cheshire, which through these Meetings can trace back its origin to the seventeenth century.

Five years before the Academy perished, another society, non-sectarian, was established in Manchester for the promotion of literature and science, whose history has shed lustre upon the names of its founders, of whom the chief were distinguished *alumni* of Warrington ; and, even whilst the ultimate fate of the Academy still hung in the balance, a third institution, strictly upon the lines of Warrington Academy itself, was also founded in Manchester by Warrington students and supporters, to which it bequeathed much more than a valuable collection of books.

CHAPTER VII

WARRINGTON ACADEMY

THE HEIRS

(I) THE WIDOWS' FUND ASSOCIATION

IN the circular, dated 11 July, 1754, issued to possible subscribers to Warrington Academy is the statement :

That we at present make it part of our view, if a surplus should remain after the design of the academy is fully completed, that it be employed, under the direction of the Trustees, for the relief of such ministers whose circumstances and characters may render them the worthy objects of regard.

It is clear that a benevolent intent in regard to distressed ministers

¹ Kenneth Lindsay, *English Education*, p. 14.

was in the minds of the founders of the Academy, though, for lack of funds, it remained unrealized.

We first hear of a scheme for the benefit of ministers' widows in a letter of Philip Holland, 7 May, 1762, to his friend John Seddon, Secretary of the Academy, who was then in London collecting money for the Academy. He said, *inter alia* :

I am sorry we are not to have your company at the Provincial . . . I could have wished to have found you at home 12th of May for various reasons, and particularly to have had your sentiments on the propriety of introducing a scheme for the relief of ministers' widows, which I have thoughts of proposing to the brethren : but I should like either to pursue it or drop it, with your advice and concurrence. . . .

Apparently by 1762, Holland, seeing that provision by the Academy for distressed ministers or their dependants would prove impossible, resolved to appeal to the Provincial Meeting of Ministers for support of a plan, designed in the first instance, but not exclusively, for the benefit of widows of ministers. Seddon heartily welcomed Holland's plan, though little progress was made with it at the Warrington Meeting of the Provincial in 1762. Writing to Seddon the day after that meeting, Holland said :

The other affair relating to widows was mentioned, but not considered . . . adding

we had four ordained, to wit, Mr. Priestley, and my brother and two others. Priestley also wrote to Seddon the day after the Meeting, defending his ordination as a condition imposed on his joining it. Eighteen days earlier he had declared that he wanted ordination "on account of another person", i.e. his intended wife, and yet makes no mention of the proposal to establish a Fund for Ministers' Widows, which strongly suggests that he was not present at the moment when the matter was mooted, and was ordained at the close of the Meeting.

To Joseph Priestley was attributed for many years the project of the Widows' Fund by Alexander Gordon,¹ who alone ever discussed its origin. That he played a prominent part in the establishment of the Fund and preached the Sermon in Manchester, 16 May, 1764, first calling public attention to it, is beyond question. That the idea of the Fund originated with him cannot be maintained on the available evidence. It seems certain that he took little or no part in the business at the outset.² Some confirmation of Holland's origination of the Fund is found in the Preface to his Sermons, published posthumously by his nephew John and his friend William Turner, who commemorate his "attentive exertions in favour of the scheme called 'The Widows' Fund'." On the other hand,

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography* and elsewhere, six times—between 1870 and 1924.

² *The Widows' Fund Association*, by the writer, pp. 11-19.

in his autobiography, Priestley, though he mentions his ordination, never names the Widows' Fund, probably for the reason that will presently appear. Seddon himself, beginning in 1764 the Minutes of the Fund, is content to say :

The first motion of this kind was made at a Provincial Meeting of the Ministers of the County of Lancaster, which was held at Warrington in May, 1762. The design was then represented in such a light as very much to engage the attention of that Assembly ; and it was thought proper to leave it in this situation for that Year, that those who were inclined to enter themselves in it, might have sufficient Time to revolve it maturely in their minds.

" The affair of the widows " having been introduced by Holland in 1762, was referred to the next meeting at Preston (1763), when a committee of seven, which did not include Joseph Priestley, was appointed to draw up rules, of whom two members were Holland and Seddon, and a third, Richard Godwin, a coadjutor in the work of the Academy. The committee met during 1763 and 1764, and formulated the scheme adopted at the Provincial Meeting at Manchester, 16 May, 1764. Twenty-six ministers signed a memorandum of their approval and readiness to join the Association. Joseph Mottershead, the aged minister of Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, was appointed President, John Seddon, Secretary, and the next meeting was fixed for Knutsford, 19 June, 1764. It was also agreed that in future the Provincial Meeting and the business meeting of the Fund should be held on the same day, and always at Warrington, on the third Tuesday in June. The first Treasurer was Jeffrey Hart, a member of Seddon's congregation, whose two sons became students in the Academy, the first, Thomas, entering in its first year. Seddon was one of the original five trustees, and held both his offices until his death in 1770. John Diggles, the only lay Trustee, was a Trustee of Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, and a generous supporter of the Academy. The names of the Committee of the Fund are appended to the Sermon preached by Priestley at Cross Street Chapel, on 16 May, 1764.

In the course of his discourse, the preacher spoke of

encouraging you, my brethren in the ministry, to prosecute with vigour that excellent scheme in which you have already shown so much laudable zeal, and have made so successful a progress.

a description of the scheme and its promoters hardly appropriate on the lips of one who had introduced that scheme into the world. Alas, Priestley ceased to be a member of the Fund in 1777, being three years in arrears with his subscriptions. He had left Warrington for Leeds in 1767, and six years later entered the service of Lord Shelburne as librarian with a comfortable salary and the prospect of a retiring allowance of £150 a year. The Widows' Fund could not compete with an eighteenth-century peer and politician in provision for old age. When Priestley republished his Sermon at Birmingham five years after he left the Fund, he omitted the Dedication

“To the Wives of the Dissenting Ministers . . .” and the appended Rules of the Association, whilst saying as little as might be said of the circumstances which evoked the discourse. When, about the same time, he began his *Memoirs*, his silence respecting the Fund was not altogether unfitting. Whether from inadvertence or design, Priestley had paid no heed to the closing exhortation to his brethren in the ministry “to be steadfast and unmoveable in this, as well as always abounding in every good work”. Priestley’s sermon in the 1764 edition, the only sermon ever published by the Fund, is extremely rare. Rutt, in the collected edition of his *Works*, confessed in 1823, that “when reprinting the Sermon” he “had no knowledge of a Dedication . . . which was peculiar to a small edition of 1764”.

The first Fund Committee of nine included: the three tutors of the Academy—Aikin, Holt, and Priestley, also Holland, and Godwin, members of its committee, Enfield, afterwards a tutor, and Threlkeld, who had completed his studies in the Academy only two years earlier.

It may be surmised that John Holt, with his mania for mathematics, found considerable satisfaction in working out the financial basis of the Fund. Jeffrey Hart, Treasurer 1764–80, was succeeded by his brother John, who held office until 1791, and was treasurer of Warrington congregation in 1786.

Threlkeld, a junior minister in the Provincial Meeting, probably owed his election to the committee to his peculiar gifts.

After a year at Daventry Academy and four years (1758–62) at Warrington, Threlkeld was minister at Risley 1762–68, and at Rochdale until his death in 1802. He was a man with a remarkable memory. He could, on any passage of the Bible being recited, at once name the chapter and verse, or if chapter and verse were given, was able immediately to repeat the passage there found. He was also a great linguist, but, says Thomas Barnes, who wrote a Memoir of him for the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society:

the most distinguishing excellence of his memory lay in biography. As a manager of the Widows’ Fund, he was often appealed to on matters connected with the lives of deceased members, and such was the opinion of his accuracy that if the books had been consulted, and had reported differently, the error would have been imputed to the secretary, and not to Mr. Threlkeld’s memory. This was deemed infallible.

It is a tribute to the influence of the three tutors that in the year of the Fund’s foundation they were directed, with Seddon, to draw up an appeal for collections to be sent to all congregations in Lancashire and Cheshire except Manchester and Knutsford, where support for the Fund could be taken for granted.

Enfield in 1770 became a tutor in the Academy, and from that date until he resigned his connection with the Academy in 1783, rendered conspicuous service to the Widows’ Fund as Secretary in succession to

Seddon. In 1798 twenty guineas were voted to his widow "as an expression of gratitude for the long and valuable services of the late Dr. Enfield as Secretary of the Fund".

It is almost impossible to exaggerate the close connection of the Fund in its early days with the Academy. In 1771 an offer (happily not accepted) was actually made of all the funds of the Association as a loan to the Academy, by that date labouring under the burden of the debt on the second Academy building which proved one of the contributory causes of its suspension in 1783, and of its dissolution three years later. Had the offer been accepted, the officers of the Fund would certainly have been relieved of any further anxiety about investing their increment by the disappearance once for all of their capital. There was a debt of £1,700 on the new Academy buildings, which seventeen supporters of the institution defrayed on the security of a mortgage at 4 per cent on the buildings. The Committee of the Academy, of which Enfield was Secretary and Holland a member, declined the offer of help, and the Widows' Fund safely passed the rock on which, if it had struck, it would assuredly have foundered. It was a fine gesture on the part of the ministerial supporters of the Academy, and its rejection by the more prudent laymen is almost equally praiseworthy.

The Widows' Fund was established by Lancashire ministers, but not for themselves alone. The Cheshire brethren were invited to join, and given representation from the first on the Committee. Several Lancashire ministers had been ordained, like the first President, by the Cheshire Classis, and retained their membership of that body. It was therefore the establishment of the Widows' Fund Association in 1764 that united, first the ministers of Lancashire and Cheshire, and then, 1806, together with them, their congregations, in the Provincial Meeting of Presbyterian and Unitarian Ministers and Congregations (after 1842 The Provincial Assembly), which, in 1856, on the motion of James Martineau, adopted the present organization of lay delegates with voting power along with the ministers. Traces of the purely ministerial origin of the Provincial Assembly survive in the fact that the Secretary has always been a minister, whilst not until 1885 was a layman elected President.

That the Widows' Fund was confined in the main, though not originally exclusively, to Lancashire and Cheshire, was obviously due to its origination by Warrington Academy tutors and supporters, who could not, consistently with the management of the seminary, direct the affairs of the Fund at a distance; to the ministerial meetings of the two counties being composed of men of similar theological opinions; and, not least in importance, to the existence of a national fund in London, and the fact that in other districts ministers were considering the need for providing for their dependants.

It is not without significance that the ballot was used in the election of members as early as 1764. Subsequently it was used also for the election of officers. Not until the beginning of the nineteenth century was the demand for the ballot in parliamentary elections seriously made, and it did not become law until 1872.

Annual elections and the use of ballot for Widows' Fund elections must be interpreted as practical expressions of the same sentiments as led its earliest members, the Warrington men, to sympathize with the American, and, later, the French Revolution, and early gave rise to the favourite toast at gatherings of the Provincial Meeting, continued to this day at those of the Widows' Fund, of "Civil and Religious Liberty the World Over".

Another indirect testimony to the influence of the Academy upon the Fund may be seen in the election to membership of the latter in 1766 of John Rawlins (1726-82). Rawlins was private chaplain to Sir Henry Hoghton, Bart., M.P., an old Northampton student, who had a private chapel in Hoghton Tower—a converted dining-hall, with an ancient bell and Latin inscription upon it, "rung to call the nonconformist farmers and peasantry of the neighbourhood to worship."¹

It was in the year of Rawlins's election to the Fund that Sir Henry Hoghton was elected President of the Academy, and it was probably on his initiative, or on that of Seddon, Secretary of Academy and Fund, that a private chaplain, the only one admitted to the Widows' Fund, was counted among the "Protestant Dissenting Ministers in the Counties of Lancaster and Chester". John Rawlins was forty when admitted, received benefactions amounting to £31 11s. and his widow a pension of £8 a year—figures illustrating the modest benefits offered in those early days. His son Thomas removed from Daventry Academy to Warrington in 1774, and entered the ministry at Rivington in 1778.

So long as Warrington men lived, their interest in the Widows' Fund continued. The first Vice-President was John Yates, an old student of the Academy, who held office from 1786 to 1811. The third and fourth Presidents were John Aikin, 1768-71, and Philip Holland, 1771-83. Ralph Harrison and John Yates as sixth and seventh Presidents covered a period of forty-one years, 1786-1827, and Thomas Barnes not only succeeded William Enfield as Secretary, serving from 1783-1810, but also from 1791-1810 held the office of Treasurer, the only ministerial Treasurer and the only man to hold two offices at one time since the foundation of the Fund.

In 1788, when it became necessary to provide for the safe keeping of the "Deeds, Writings, Notes, Bonds and Papers" belonging to the Fund, the Annual Meeting resolved that they "be lodged in the Library of the Manchester Academy in a strong Iron Box to be provided by the

¹ Benjamin Nightingale, *Lancashire Nonconformity*, i, 76.

Secretary". The makers of the Iron Box, acquainted with its destination, but more imperfectly with the Fund, made out their account to the "Trustees of the Widows fund Academy". They had almost stumbled on what might have been an appropriate name for the institution—"The Academy's Widows' Fund". As the successor to Warrington, the Manchester Academy, established two years before the Iron Box arrived, was the most fitting home for the Fund's securities.

Harrison was one of the first two Auditors appointed. In earlier years the Committee had been content to "inspect the accounts". At the first Audit, 1796, the Auditors remarked that they had

found the accounts perfectly right, but, at the same time, think it proper to observe, that, in balancing the interest of money lying in his hands (and received at different and irregular periods) Dr. Barnes had been far from doing himself justice, and has been a great benefactor to the Fund.

Again, when in 1825 the Auxiliary Benevolent Fund was raised to amplify the regular annuities and grants of the Fund, the lead was taken by Yates, and a sum of £1,500 quickly raised by him and his friends.

For some years a few generous laymen gave annual subscriptions to the Widows' Fund, the largest subscriber being John Carill Worsley, formerly President of the Academy.

Occasionally a collection was taken up in behalf of the Fund, which is probably meant by the statement that "in 1779 the Rev. William Brocklehurst preached the sermon at the Provincial Meeting at Warrington in connexion with the Widows' Fund."¹

William Turner, of Newcastle (1761-1859), a distinguished student of the Academy, was the first scholar honoured by the Fund, when in 1842, at the age of 81, he retired from the ministry, and "was requested to accept the sum of £20 as a mark of the high regard in which he was held by the members of the Society". He had become a member of the Fund in 1796, of which his father, William Turner, of Wakefield, brother-in-law of Holland, had been also a member.

This interest in the recognition of scholarship, which may be called an inheritance from Warrington Academy, took permanent form a little later in an endowment, unique, so far as can be ascertained, in the history of such benevolent societies as the Widows' Fund Association. In 1871, Miss Ellen Yates, daughter of John Yates, founded the Yates Honorarium in connection with the Widows' Fund. It provided £25 a year given "by way of honorarium and as a mark of respect" to a retired minister distinguished "by services to Literature or Science, or in the cause of Truth, Literature, or Benevolence"—terms which recall the fields of labour in which Warrington Academy excelled. During the last seventy years, the most distinguished scholars in the Unitarian ministry, with a very few exceptions, have been recipients of the Yates Honorarium.

¹ W. H. Burgess, *Dean Row Chapel*, p. 45.

Those include Charles Barnes Upton, Alexander Gordon, Dr. James Edwin Odgers, Dr. James Drummond, and Dr. Philip Henry Wicksteed. Many have received it more than once, e.g. James Martineau, five times, Dr. John Relly Beard, George Henry Wells, M.A., and Samuel Alfred Steinthal, four times each, Dr. George Vance Smith, three times, and Dr. R. Travers Herford, twice.

From small beginnings the Widows' Fund Association now occupies an honourable position as second in age and first in wealth amongst similar English institutions. In respect both of the small premium paid and the large benefits offered, it has been for long without a peer amongst societies designed to assist nonconformist ministers, their widows, and their families. How this has come about has been traced elsewhere.¹

Its Annual Meetings, held at Warrington without a break from 1764 to 1777, began with Breakfast and ended with Lunch, as they still do. The membership of the Fund in 1942 was 115; its income (General Fund) £7,284, Benevolent Fund, £1,450, whilst the estimated capital of the various funds administered amounts approximately to £248,000.

For more than a century the legal affairs of the Fund have been in the hands of one firm of solicitors. One partner, Robert D. Darbishire, a freeman of Manchester, and a generous donor to the Benevolent Fund, was Treasurer for thirty-nine years, whilst another partner, his successor, the late Dr. A. H. Worthington, formerly Chairman of the Manchester University Council, held the same office for thirty-six years.

Dr. Robert Travers Herford, the Talmudic scholar, formerly (1885-1914) minister of Stand Chapel, was Secretary of the Fund, 1908-14, 1930-41. He forms in his own person a link with the beginning of the Fund, for he is a great-grandson of William Turner, of Newcastle, himself a nephew of Philip Holland (1721-89), the virtual founder of the Fund.

It is obvious that the influence of Warrington Academy on the development of the Association during the last century and three-quarters has been slight, but by Academy tutors and friends it was founded, and for long directed, and from them its essential constitution and character were derived.

The Widows' Fund Association, in fact, was designed to make secure the status of the ministry, for which many students were prepared at Warrington Academy.

II. THE MANCHESTER LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

The Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society was founded 28 February, 1781, and claims to be the second oldest scientific society in England, the first being the Royal Society, London, established as early as 1660.

¹ *The Widows' Fund Association* (1937), by the writer.

To celebrate the first centenary of the Society, Dr. R. Angus Smith published in 1883 *A Centenary of Science in Manchester*. The second chapter, consisting of eight pages only, is entitled "Ancestry of the Society", and gives a fragmentary and faulty sketch of Warrington Academy. The first sentence states, rather enigmatically, that "the remote ancestry of the Literary and Philosophical Society itself passed through Warrington, and it may be unnecessary to trace farther back the line of its descent".

A little later he descends to particulars. "Joseph Priestley", we learn, "seems to have stimulated Dr. Percival (virtual founder of the Society) to the study of chemistry, and induced him to encourage interest in the science which he found beginning in Manchester . . . We feel much pleasure in connecting ourselves with Priestley as our ancestor, and we certainly can do so to some extent, the Society having always felt his influence, both because of the exertions of his pupil and friend, and its one attempt, however feeble, to assist him. We might go further, as he was an honorary member."

In point of fact, however, Percival never was a pupil of Priestley, for Priestley began work as Tutor in Languages and Belles Lettres at Warrington Academy in September, 1761, after Percival, having completed his course in the summer of that year, had left home to begin his medical studies at Edinburgh. Priestley, moreover, never taught Chemistry at Warrington, and was himself first introduced to that subject in 1763 by the lectures there of Matthew Turner. Percival was a pupil in Natural Philosophy and Mathematics of John Holt, whom Angus Smith does not mention, though he wrongly credits Dr. John Aikin with "a share" in stimulating the chemical studies of Percival. Aikin was a classical scholar, a philosopher, and a theologian, but never a teacher of chemistry or any other science.

Of course Percival knew Priestley well. He would meet him, when a medical student home for vacations, was probably interested in his electrical experiments, and certainly assisted in promoting the conferment upon him by Edinburgh University (4 December, 1764) of the degree of LL.D.

He remained his friend and correspondent, and, to a certain extent, as in experiments on air, collaborated with him in research, not without differences of opinion, in which the physician sometimes got the better of the chemist.

Angus Smith is at least right in saying that Priestley was an honorary member of the Society—his name was in the first published list, but it is hardly just to say that the Society made "a feeble attempt to assist him". It is strange, too, that Smith does not mention the part Percival played in obtaining a benefaction from the Society for Priestley, and that Francis Nicholson, who later corrected and supplemented his account, also omits

any reference to Percival in this connection, and does not seem to know whether or not Priestley received the gift. Nicholson says simply : " The Society wished to help Dr. Joseph Priestley in meeting the cost of his researches, though it is possible that Dr. Priestley did not accept the proffered gift." He then gives the resolution of the Society, dated 9 November, 1785, adding : " It was proposed to raise the amount by a subscription."

The facts of the case are clearly set forth in the *Memoirs* of Thomas Percival by his son, and in Rutt's edition of Priestley's *Works*. Percival, writing from " Manchester, 1785 ", to Dr. Haygarth, appealing for a subscription to the fund for Priestley, give the Society's resolution, and adds : ¹

But no deficiency occurred, the subscription was instantly completed with a degree of zeal and generosity which reflects great honour to the members of our Institution.

In a subsequent letter to the same gentleman, he says : ²

agreeably to your request, I transmitted two guineas, with the sum voted by our Society, to Dr. Priestley. In a letter from Dr. Priestley, which displays an excellent heart, he informs me that the deficiency in the annual subscription for the support of his Laboratory amounts to forty-five pounds. . . . He has had two proposals of a pension from the king, made by those who, if he had approved of it, could have carried it into execution. But he declined them both, wishing to be independent. . . .

Priestley's letter to Percival named in this epistle is not contained in Rutt's collection. There is no doubt, then, that Priestley received the fund raised in his behalf by the Society, and that Percival did not think it unworthy of its members.

Priestley himself writing much later to Theophilus Lindsey, 7 December, 1787, said :

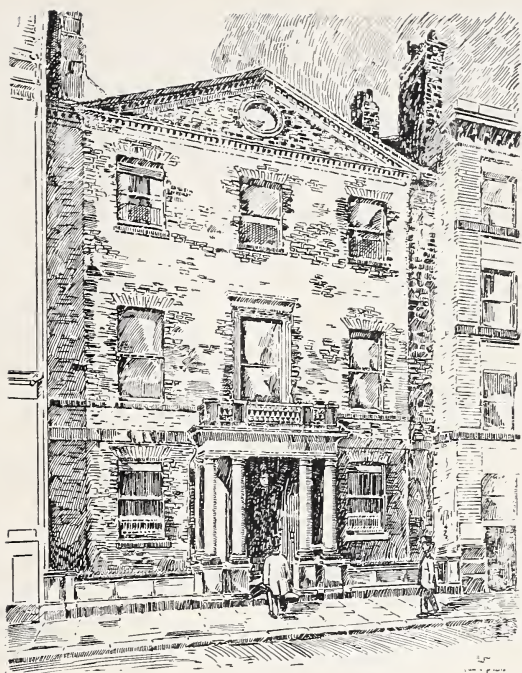
Dr. Percival was one of the persons with whom Dr. Fothergill consulted about the subscription to my experiments. . . . Two years ago I told him that some had dropped it. On this, without asking my consent (which I should by no means have granted), he mentioned it to the Philosophical Society at Manchester, of which I am a member, and they immediately sent me out of their funds £50. I was exceedingly hurt at the measure, and, for some time, seriously thought to return the money, but that it would have offended Dr. Percival, who meant well, though he did not sufficiently consult the propriety and delicacy that the case required. . . .

When everything is said that can be said, it is plain that Priestley was in no sense an " ancestor " of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society.

Turning from the particular to the general, that is, from Priestley's relations with the Society to the Academy's, the corrections of Angus Smith's volume call for notice.

¹ Vol. i, pp. ci-ciii.

² *Ibid.*



(a)



(b)

Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society before its destruction as the result of enemy action, December, 1940.

(a) *From a drawing by Edgar Moreland.*

(b) *The Lecture Room.*

When Dr. Smith, a Vice-President of the Society, published his Centenary volume in 1883, the honorary librarian was Francis Nicholson, a Unitarian, President of the Society, 1913-15, and President of the Unitarian College, Manchester, when he died in 1925. A cousin of his grandfather was Matthew Nicholson, a former student at Warrington, brother-in-law of one tutor, Dr. Clayton, and a relative of another, John Seddon, of whose widow he was one of the executors. Matthew Nicholson had boarded with Priestley at Warrington, and may have subscribed to the Fund for him, since he was elected a member of the Society, 14 December, 1785, when it is unlikely that the subscription was completed.

On 12 August, 1924, Francis Nicholson read a paper before the Society entitled "The Literary and Philosophical Society 1761-1851", being, as he informs us, "notes mainly based on the Minute Books of the Society". "Dr. Smith", he said, "does not appear to have used the Minute Book to any extent, his book being based principally on the printed *Memoirs*, to which the Society owed its great repute even in its earliest years." Nicholson then discusses Smith's theory of the ancestry of the Society. "It is known", he said, "that Dr. Thomas Percival was the originator of the informal club, and that he was mainly responsible also for the formation of the Society. As Dr. Percival was an *alumnus* of Warrington Academy, Dr. Smith sought to trace the remote origin of the Society to the Academy. The Society had, as a matter of fact, no connection with Warrington Academy, though many of its early members and officers had been Warrington students, nor had the Society any connection with any religious denomination."

Nicholson's negatives, taken literally, are strictly accurate. Actually, however, Smith did not attempt "to trace the ancestry" of the Society to the Academy. He could hardly do that, since in 1781, when the Society was founded, the Academy was very much alive, though not quite so vigorous as in earlier years. It might have been described, rightly or wrongly, by a scientist like Dr. Smith as "the parent", but hardly as "the ancestor" or "remote origin" of the Society. As, however, Smith does not explain what he meant by "the remote ancestry" which "itself passed through Warrington", and as the Academy was a new and independent creation, unlike earlier academies in constitution, character, curriculum, and ideals, its links with the past are very much to seek, and it is gratuitous to go beyond Warrington in any attempt to define the relation of Academy and Society.

One thing is clear. The Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, like the earlier Widows' Fund Association (1764) and the later Manchester Academy (1786), was an independent foundation.

There is no reference in the Minutes or Reports of the Warrington Academy to the birth or life of either the Widows' Fund or the Literary

and Philosophical Society, and none to the Manchester Academy until that at Warrington was in process of dissolution, and, so to speak, making a will disposing of properties and effects.

Nicholson knew the Minutes of Warrington Academy as well as those of the Society, for he had searched them, and, as early as December, 1886, made copious extracts therefrom.

Similarly in the Minutes of the Literary and Philosophical Society, as in those of the Widows' Fund Association, there is no reference to Warrington Academy, and in the records of Manchester Academy little that betokens its being the offspring of Warrington, though allusions to its indebtedness to that place of learning are not wanting. None the less, it has already been shown that the Widows' Fund would hardly have come into existence had there been no Academy, whilst the debt of Manchester Academy to Warrington, never unacknowledged, remains only to be assessed.

Setting aside, therefore, the term "ancestor" as inapplicable to the relation of the Academy to the Society, it may still be true that the Society is indebted to the Academy as were the two institutions named, though not precisely in the same way, nor to the same extent.

Two questions call for an answer. Who were "the early members and officers" of the Society who "had been Warrington students"? Did they contribute anything derived from the Academy to the Society that was fundamental to its constitution and character?

The second question, as more speculative and controversial, claims first consideration.

In the preface to the first volume of its *Memoirs*, it is suggested that the existence of "numerous societies for the promotion of Literature and Philosophy in different parts of Europe", the progress "in Physics and the Belles Lettres due to their encouragement", and the "advantages" of the published *Transactions* of these societies provided the incentive to those who originated the idea of "a weekly club" for "conversation", which, under Dr. Percival's leadership, developed into the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. Mention is also made of similar societies in London, of which several of the founders were members, in particular, four of the ordinary members and several of the Honorary Members were Fellows of the Royal Society, London.

Now, whilst the stimulus and example of existing societies at home and abroad need not be denied, it is doubtful if members of the Society had any personal knowledge of the foreign societies, with the possible exception of Paris, and fairly obvious that the scope and objects of these societies did not dictate exclusively the spheres of labour and interest marked out by the founders of the Manchester Society.

What were these? They are defined in the Laws of the Society (VIII) as follows: "That the subjects of conversation comprehend

natural philosophy, civil law, general politics, commerce and the arts. But that religion, practical branches of physic, and British politics be deemed prohibited . . .”

“Practical branches of Physic” were excluded almost certainly on grounds of necessity, for lack of apparatus. The exclusion of religion meant in reality the exclusion of theology. In the discussion of cosmic problems members expressed incidentally and pertinently theistic opinions, when, as seldom happened, there was occasion, and they were not prevented by any Law from maintaining a spiritual interpretation of the universe. Theological works, too, were admitted into the Library, and not until 1824 was it resolved “to make it more particularly a scientific library”. In other words, the Society was neither atheistic nor agnostic in its outlook. But theology could not be admitted as a subject for discussion, if the Society, open to all, were to be free to devote itself to other major interests than those which divided men and churches at a time when toleration was wont to be imperfectly practised, and freedom in theological teaching was unknown outside Warrington Academy and other academies of the same tradition.

Similarly, the Society, which included both Dissenters and churchmen, meant to preserve complete neutrality on the issue between episcopalianism and nonconformity. The latter principle was put to the test in 1786, when the Manchester Academy was founded on the lines of Warrington Academy mainly by supporters of the latter.

It imposed no religious tests, was open to churchmen, and trained more men for commerce and the professions generally than for the pulpit, but was well known to be sponsored and maintained by Unitarians, of whom several were amongst the most active and distinguished members of the Literary and Philosophical Society.

As a result of this personal connection, it had been noised abroad that “the Society was promoting a dissenting academy”.

As this was quite outside the scope of the Society, and to suffer it to go uncontradicted might impair its usefulness and comprehensive character, the following resolution was passed, 15 March, 1786, and ordered to appear “in both the Manchester Papers”:

Whereas an inference has been drawn from a passage in the first page of the Report of the new Institution now called, or intended to be called, the Manchester Academy, that this Society *as such* favours the principle and design of that intended Academy, Resolved that this Society having, at its first institution, totally disavowed, and still continues to disavow all bias toward, or intercourse with any religious opinion or sect whatever, do hereby declare their independence; and that they do not mean to afford any patronage to the above-named Academy.

The passage in the Academy Report, to which reference is made, reads: “The Literary and Philosophical Society have avowed a generous zeal ‘to foster rising genius, to incite emulation, and to give energy to the

powers of the human mind, by calling them forth into early exertion', and, it may be presumed, they will admit the senior Academics to attend their more instructive discussions".

The presumption seems not to have been justified, and there is no evidence that senior students of the Academy were admitted to any meetings of the Society. At the next meeting of the Society following the passing of the resolution, Dr. Percival and Dr. Barnes "did not offer themselves for re-election" (as President and Secretary), "whether", says Nicholson, "by reason of it or because of increased work due to the establishment of the Academy". It would seem that the second alternative may be ruled out, since Barnes afterwards added to his work as minister and tutor the duties of Treasurer (1791-1810) of the Widows' Fund Association, of which from 1783 he had been Secretary. Apparently the two leading officers of the Society had outrun the limits of prudence in relation to the older institution from zeal for the welfare of the new Academy. Percival was induced to accept election, but Barnes resigned, though he did not sever his connection with the Society.

On the "Establishment of the Academy", Ralph Harrison preached in Cross Street Chapel, 26 March, 1786, and, later, 14 September, on the "Commencement of the Academy", Barnes delivered a "Discourse" in the Chapel Room, where the Literary and Philosophical Society was then holding its meetings. In defending the provision, as at Warrington, of education for "those who are designed for Civil and Commercial Life", Barnes said: "By many gentlemen here present, this question has been canvassed in the place where we are now assembled, and I flatter myself, it has been clearly determined. Our debates have indeed chiefly turned upon the advantages of science to those engaged in Commercial Life . . ."

The reference is to meetings of the Literary and Philosophical Society; it indicates the interest of many members of the Society in the new Academy, and the activity of the Society itself in fields of study pursued first at Warrington and later at Manchester Academy, though such interest and activity did not extend to matters of religious belief.

The Sermon and Discourse were subsequently published by W. Eyres, of Warrington, who had published the works of the Warrington Academy tutors and was to publish the first three volumes of the *Memoirs* of the Manchester Society. On the title-page of the Manchester Academy's pamphlet, Barnes and Harrison are each described as "Member of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester".

The exclusion of "British Politics" from discussion by the Literary and Philosophical Society was, in a way, a measure of protection for the Society. It was founded in the year in which the Americans practically threw off the yoke of British rule, and the year after the Gordon Riots, which threatened for a time to burn down the British capital. Warrington tutors and students had been on the side of the American colonies, and

many, conspicuous among them Joseph Priestley, were radical reformers who hailed with joy the later French Revolution. Such radical members of the Society had colleagues, several of them original members, who were Jacobite in their sympathies. Obviously the discussion of "British Politics" by such a Society was impossible. Indeed, a Society primarily interested in Science and Literature could gain nothing, and might conceivably lose everything, by admitting such a controversial subject for debate at its meetings. Once, at least, the Society was compelled to face this issue.

When Priestley's home was wrecked and his library and apparatus destroyed in the Birmingham Riots of 1791, one of the members, Samuel Jackson, we are told, ¹ "moved a vote of sympathy with him: 'that this Society do write to Dr. Priestley, expressing their concern at the losses he has sustained by the late disgraceful riot at Birmingham,'" "The Society", continues Nicholson, "was evidently afraid of doing anything that would connect it with the politics of the day, and postponed the resolution, 21 October, 1791, whereupon, as a protest, Thomas Cooper, a Vice-President, James Watt, junior, Thomas Walker, and Samuel Jackson resigned their membership, as also did Joseph Priestley, junior, Dr. Priestley's son (a resident in Manchester), who had only just been elected." Jackson was a prominent reformer. Cooper, Walker, and Watt were men of some distinction, also radicals in politics, and noticed in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

If in 1781 it was deemed prudent to exclude "British Politics" from discussion, it must have seemed even more so ten years later. A Society with members like those named, and, in addition, with honorary members in France and America, would certainly have been suspected of treasonable opinions, if not practices, by the English government of 1791, had it exhibited any sympathy with Priestley. Philip Anthony Brown, in his study of *The French Revolution in English History* (1918), says: "Political leaders secretly congratulated one another on the riots. Lord Auckland thought the rioting most opportune, because the hands of the Executive would be strengthened, and other political controversies would be overshadowed by a quarrel between Church and Dissent . . . The Birmingham Riot was not an isolated event . . . At Manchester the town was only saved from an orgy by the accident that a resolute Dissenter was borough Reeve for that year."

Societies which included radicals or Unitarians therefore walked softly. Friendly Societies, which sprang up on every side during the eighteenth century, often included men of radical opinions, and one in Rutland, established in 1791, felt it necessary to set down in its Rules: "That no person whose sentiments shall be found and proved to be unfriendly to the present constitution of the country shall be admitted a

¹ Francis Nicholson, *Ut supra*.

member of this Society." From the privately printed *Memorials of the Family of the Rev. John Yates* we learn that he "belonged to a private literary society" (in Liverpool), whose members included Roscoe, Rathbone, Dr. Currie, William Shepherd and other Unitarians, and when in 1792 Mr. Pitt's famous proclamation against sedition appeared, the Society thought it "expedient to discontinue their meetings, lest their objects should by party malice be misrepresented as seditious or revolutionary".

When the resolution expressing sympathy with Priestley was shelved, Percival was sole President of the Society, and Barnes a leading member of the Society. But Percival and Priestley were by no means kindred spirits as were Percival and Barnes. From the years immediately following Priestley's removal from Warrington in 1767, they had not been at one in theology, and not long afterwards drifted apart in politics. Differences, too, had arisen between Barnes and Priestley.

In 1789, disciples of Priestley, dissatisfied with the Arianism of Barnes, seceded from Cross Street Chapel and built a Unitarian Chapel in Mosley Street, with an old Warrington student as first minister. In September of that year Priestley preached in the new chapel, though, as he informed his friend Lindsey, Barnes was not friendly disposed towards the new movement. It is clear that the happy relations that once existed between tutor and pupil at the Academy were long past, and it is not surprising, for more reasons than one, that amongst the radicals who protested against the resolution of 21 October, 1791, the names of Percival and his henchman Barnes were not included—to say nothing of those of Harrison, Thomas Henry, and other Unitarians.

In connection with the display of caution and of courage in the Society at this time, it should be said that, amongst the addresses of sympathy which Priestley received on his losses and sufferings, none came from the Royal Society, of which he had been a distinguished member for twenty-five years. They came from dissenting congregations, dissenting assemblies, ministerial meetings, the hot-headed students of Hackney College, and the Revolution Society. The only Philosophical Society which sent condolences and good wishes was that of Derby, whose Address was signed and transmitted to Priestley by the President, Dr. Erasmus Darwin, founder of the Society (1785) and grandfather of the great naturalist.

So much for the subjects that, by the Laws of the Society, were not to be discussed at its meetings, and for the issues raised by their exclusion. More important are those subjects, already named, that were admissible.

It can hardly be urged that the Societies "in different parts of Europe", the Royal Society, London, or other philosophical societies in the provinces or elsewhere included "civil law, general politics, commerce, and the arts" amongst the subjects in which they professed an active

interest. "No older provincial society than the Manchester Society", we are told, "with similar aims and with a continuous history, exists in Great Britain, and there are comparatively few in any part of the world. The Royal Physical Society of Edinburgh dates from 1771, but has long devoted itself to Zoology and Natural History. The Royal Dublin Society obtained its charter in 1750, and still flourishes; the Royal Society of Edinburgh was founded in 1783, a development of the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, 1731. On the Continent there are a number of eighteenth-century Academies, the more important ones State-aided; the remainder were literary and debating societies, not specially concerned with natural science".¹ It is important to note that the societies named were "specially (one might say 'exclusively') concerned with natural science."

Here the plan of the short-lived College of Science in Manchester is of significance. On 5 April 1783, Thomas Barnes read a paper before the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society entitled: "A Plan for the Improvement and Extension of Liberal Education in Manchester". He pleaded for the establishment of a college in which "the happy art might be learned of connecting together Liberal Science and Commercial Industry" by instruction in "Natural Philosophy, the Belles Lettres, Mathematics, History, Law, Commerce, Ethics, and Languages ancient and modern". At the request of the Society he drew up a plan of study "for young men designed for Civil and Active Life, whether in Trade or in any of the Professions". "In this Institution", he declared, "every narrow principle ought to be rejected. . . . Science and Art are of no political or religious party."

On the lines laid down by Barnes, with Percival as President, the College was instituted, 6 June, 1783. Nine officers of the Literary and Philosophical Society became Governors, including Barnes, Percival and T. B. Bayley, with Barnes and Thomas Henry as lecturers. When the Manchester Academy was established in 1786, chiefly by Percival and Barnes, it was hoped that its students would profit by attending lectures at the College, but in little more than two years the institution was dissolved. It can hardly have been an accident that Warrington Academy embraced in its curriculum the subjects admitted for discussion in the Literary and Philosophical Society, and that these, in a large measure, constituted the curriculum in each of the three institutions of which, at birth, the presiding genius was Percival. It may even be claimed that at Warrington, civil law, general politics, commerce, and the arts were more cultivated in the lecture-room than at meetings of the Society, whilst ample provision was made from the first for instruction in natural philosophy. Naturally, there was less specialized treatment of such

¹ *The Soul of Manchester*, ed. W. H. Brindley, art. "The Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society", by the late C. L. Barnes, pp. 142-3.

subjects by the tutors than they received at the hands of the members of the Society. But what must not be overlooked is that no other academy earlier than Warrington, and no English university of this period could boast such a curriculum.

Is all this a mere coincidence, or is it essentially bound up with the fact that the founder of the Literary and Philosophical Society was a Warrington student, as were other foundation members and officers?

Thomas Percival (1740-1804), nephew and grandson of two Warrington physicians, was left an orphan at the age of three and brought up by his eldest sister. Born and educated in the main at Warrington until he came of age, he probably owed much besides a valuable library and a modest competence to his uncle of the same name who graduated M.D. (1720) at Leydon, where he followed his example forty-five years later. His uncle died when he was only ten, but from him, or his library, may have derived Percival's incentive to study medicine, and, hardly less, the zeal for ethics and theology, shared by his namesake, "to which in later life", says his biographer, "Dr. Percival devoted the greater part of his leisure". In theology, he was an Arian, like Seddon, who had converted from the established church the sister who proved a mother to him and his uncle James, a Liverpool merchant and one of the earliest benefactors of Warrington Academy. At Warrington, where his name stood first (1757) on the roll of students, he was on easy terms with his tutors, and at Edinburgh University, which he entered in 1761, his gifts and graces won for him the friendship of men like David Hume and Principal Robertson. As a boarder with the married sister of the Principal, Percival quickly found his way into the cultured society of the Scottish capital. He was only a student in his early twenties, when, provided with letters of recommendation from Lord Willoughby, of Parham, he was able to bring under the favourable notice of the Principal a candidate for an honorary degree in the person of Joseph Priestley. At the age of twenty-five, spending a year in London, he improved his acquaintance with Lord Willoughby, and, on his proposal, was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, "the youngest member", as his son informed us, "ever admitted to that learned corporation". It was the first of several learned societies at home and abroad to which he was admitted—more on his merits. Whilst in Paris, after graduating at Leyden, he again met Hume, and made friends with distinguished French philosophers and men of letters, with some of whom he afterwards corresponded. But radicalism in philosophy, politics or theology, even when embraced by his friend Priestley, did not move Percival from his moorings. In theology he remained an Arian to the end. In philosophy, his sheet-anchor was the ethical theism of Joseph Butler, not the materialism of David Hartley nor the scepticism of David Hume. He maintained, in his own words, "the consonance of revelation with reason, of the religion of the

gospel with that of nature". He stood for comprehension in the established church on easy terms, as Locke had once done, rather than for toleration outside it. The term "Toleration", he declared, "appears to be injurious to that religious liberty which it is designed to import. It implies a *right* to impose articles of faith and modes of worship; that nonconformity is a crime and that the *sufferance* of it is a matter of favour or lenity".¹ Like Seddon, Percival was partial to liturgical worship, and, like him also in this, he was never connected with a congregation that practised it. Educated in the religious and political principles of rational Dissent, he stoutly stood by them in every movement for freedom and liberty, retaining his friendship with French and American scholars, without being drawn into the bitter controversies in England that followed the Revolution in France. In that great conflict, Percival's sympathies were rather with Burke than with Fox.

In both literature and natural philosophy, which in the speech of the day meant science, he had been deeply interested since he was student at Warrington, and it was precisely in those branches of learning, not in theology, that the Academy, as we have seen, was pre-eminent.

It was presumably, then, no mere chance that the Manchester Society which he founded was a *Literary* and Philosophical Society, unlike the earlier Dublin Philosophical Society (1684), the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh (1731) and other avowedly scientific societies, and, equally, unlike the later Philosophical Society, Derby, the Lunar Society, Birmingham, and the rest. Manchester was in fact the first society of the sort in the British Isles to include the word "Literary" in its title, though it was not without good reason that Dr. F. A. Bruton said in 1924:² "The Literary and Philosophical Society has been so much more scientific than literary that its title is almost a misnomer." The comparative neglect of literature by the Society is attributed to the influence of John Dalton. At least it was not due to Thomas Percival. During his presidency and for some time afterwards literature had an honoured place in its programme.

Percival's zeal as a physician from 1767 in Manchester, his interests as a scientist, and his work as a social reformer have been fully recognized, not least by members of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. A distinguished American scientist³ connects "many of the most important contributions to English medicine and science in the eighteenth century with Warrington Academy" and "the great wave of religious unrest that brought it into being". Of members of the Literary and Philosophical Society, he mentions Charles White's "memorable treatise on the contagiousness of puerperal fever, and later a remarkable book entitled *The Gradation of Man*, which represents the beginning of

¹ *Works*, ii, 58.

² *A Short History of Manchester and Salford*, p. 257.

³ John F. Fulton, *Ut supra*, pp. 51 ff.

modern anthropology"; John Aikin's book "urging that hospitals be ventilated in order to minimize contagion"; Joseph Priestley's writings; and the "group of chemists in Manchester and Warrington who were the first to appreciate the importance of Lavoisier's discoveries". "Thomas Percival", he says, "wrote the greatest book on medical ethics that has ever appeared in English, and in addition made scientific contributions of the first importance to public health and the problem of putrefaction." Dr. Brindley has recently pointed out¹ the vogue and influence of Percival's *Medical Ethics* in England and America from his day to ours.

But Thomas Percival was more than a successful physician and a pioneer in medical and social science. Otherwise he would not have been the founder of the three Manchester institutions already named.

The wide range of reading perceptible in his writings, enriched by historical detail, biographical illustration, classical quotation, and philosophical reasoning, sets him, in miniature maybe, in the gallery which includes the great figures of Browne of the *Religio Medici* and Brown of *Horæ Subsecivæ*. In him as in them, ethics and theology vied for supremacy in the expression of his thought. He lacked, it need hardly be said, the quaint diction, conceits, and speculative spirit of the one, and the singular charm, humour, and insight into the ways of men and animals of the other; but as a pathfinder in medicine and an enthusiast in education, he was excelled by neither. He wrote much less than either, and, unlike both, seldom revealed his own personality in what he wrote, but his profound concern for the physical, moral, and religious improvement of humanity was not exceeded by the more famous seventeenth- and nineteenth-century physicians.

To Part II of his *Moral Tales* he prefaced a motto from Cicero, which might have served as his motto for life. "Quod munus reipublicæ afferre majus meliusve possumus, quam si docemus atque erudimus juventutem?" Zeal for education in the amplest sense of the term lies behind almost all his non-professional activities—not the education of the old universities, but that of Warrington Academy, and expressed in the Laws of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. "A variety in the pursuits of knowledge", he wrote, "seems to be most conducive to the growth and vigour of our several faculties; for the activity of the mind, like that of the body, is increased by multiplying and diversifying its exercises. . . . By an unwearied application to one branch of learning a man may perhaps become a proficient in it. But the less confined his views are, the more easy and secure will be his attainments, because the sciences, whilst they invigorate the understanding, elucidate each other."

Into whatever scheme enlisted his interest Percival threw all his energies, not always considering the scruples of colleagues which he

¹ *Memoirs . . . of Manchester Lit. and Phil. Soc.*, 1942, p. 55.

did not share. *Suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*. All the evidence points to the dominating influence of Thomas Percival in the counsels of the Literary and Philosophical Society during its infancy. Of the twenty-five original members, more than half were physicians, surgeons, or apothecaries. At this date there was no medical society in the town, and naturally Percival's friends included the chief resident practitioners.

Francis Nicholson observes that "Dr. Mainwaring seems to have been the only graduate of an English university, the others with degrees being mostly of Scottish universities". This seems largely guesswork. Of six other graduates in medicine, two held Edinburgh and Glasgow degrees. The universities of three men cannot be traced, and Percival was a Leyden graduate, Thomas Butterworth Bayley, Vice-President of Warrington Academy, and Charles White had studied at Edinburgh, but did not graduate. Amongst the twenty-eight men elected members during the first year were two Warrington *alumni*, whilst the earliest list of honorary members included the names of Joseph Priestley, John Aikin, William Enfield, Gilbert Wakefield, tutors, William Turner, student, and William Roscoe and Josiah Wedgwood, supporters of the Academy. Honorary members, it should be remembered, were not all distinguished strangers who never contributed to the proceedings of the Society.

Many of the immediate successors to the first group of officers and members were old students of the Manchester Academy, which so admirably maintained the traditions of Warrington.

The Joint-Presidents at the outset were Dr. Peter Mainwaring, an octogenarian, and James Massey. Percival was a Vice-President. After a year, Massey and Percival shared the chair (1782-87); James Massey alone was President 1787-9, when Percival was appointed and remained in office until his death in 1804, in all eighteen years. His successor in office was George Walker, F.R.S., formerly tutor at Warrington, then at Manchester Academy.

Thomas Barnes, D.D., a Warrington student and first Principal of Manchester Academy, was the only minister of religion amongst the original members, and, as we have seen, one of the two Secretaries. Mr. C. L. Barnes, in his sketch of the Society, wrongly credits Barnes with being a F.R.S. and George Walker with a doctorate in divinity.¹

Amongst the twenty-eight elected members in the first year were Ralph Harrison, a Warringtonian and later the colleague of Barnes at Manchester Academy, and Thomas Robinson, a merchant educated at Warrington, who was librarian of the Society from 1784 to 1787. Thomas Henry, F.R.S., an original member, and Ashworth Clegg, elected in the first year, were trustees of Cross Street Chapel, of which Barnes and Harrison were ministers. From October 1781 to December 1799 meetings were held in Cross St. Chapel Room, a nominal rent of two guineas

¹ *The Soul of Manchester*, ed. W. H. Brindley (1929).

quarterly being paid "for the use of the Room, fire, candles and other conveniences". Apparently the Society was left free to improve at their own expense its amenities—hence benches and tables were purchased "from the weekly religious society" (21 November, 1788), the windows altered (24 April, 1789), and the premises repainted in 1794. Towards the end of December, 1799, the Society moved into its new home in George Street.

"This is the end of the matter ; all hath been heard." We conclude that the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, whilst in no sense the direct offspring of Warrington Academy, largely owed its foundation and its original character indirectly to the influence of that Academy.

To-day the Society is almost as vigorous as ever, despite the loss by enemy action in December, 1940, of its home, built in 1798, with its fine library of 42,000 volumes, its portraits and engravings of distinguished members, and the rare collection of relics of John Dalton, who, having been brought to Manchester by its Academy, was a member of the Society for half a century, in office continuously for forty-four years, and its President for twenty-eight years.

John Dalton died 27 July, 1844. In the Unitarian College, Manchester, is a framed pen-and-ink sketch of Dalton, signed by him, and dated 1840. Framed at the back is a Prospectus of the school at Kendal, taken over from their cousin by the brothers Jonathan and John Dalton and opened "28th of March, 1785", from which John Dalton came to Manchester.

The destruction of the Dalton relics in a world-war may justify the reproduction of the manuscript lines written beneath the sketch of the great scientist.

Not mid the warring world's unhallowed strife
 Was twined the laurel wreath that binds thy brow,
 But with the true devotion of a life
 To the pursuit of glorious Truth resigned, didst thou
 With her true worshippers thy forehead bow,
 Pure and unspotted is thy well-worn face,
 Which future times will own, as we do now,
 Writing while human records shall remain,
 With Kepler—Newton—Dalton's honoured name.

III. THE MANCHESTER ACADEMY

The indebtedness of Manchester Academy (later College) in more ways than one to Warrington Academy has never been matter of doubt. On the contrary, it has frequently led to such misrepresentation of the facts that the two institutions have been regarded as one and the same.

Dr. E. M. Brockbank, writing in 1904,¹ speaks of "the Manchester Academy, a college for clergymen and laymen conducted on Unitarian principles, which was originally at Warrington". Mr. G. D. H. Cole, in 1933² wrote of "Unitarian academies, such as the New College at Warrington where Priestley taught, followed by Dalton the Chemist, after its removal to Manchester". In the same work, Sir Charles Mallet mentions Warrington Academy,³ and the Index contains two entries, "Warrington, New College" and "Warrington Academy", referring to the same institution, at least so far as the place-name is concerned. Manchester "New College" was a title occasionally given to the Manchester Academy during its first period (1786-1803) in the town named, less frequently at York (1803-40), and invariably at Manchester (1840-53) and London (1853-89). The word "New" was dropped when the College went to Oxford in 1889 as there was a "New College" there. At no time was Warrington Academy known as "New College", and, as Warrington Academy was not dissolved until after Manchester Academy was founded, it follows that Priestley, who left Warrington for Leeds in 1767, was never connected with Manchester Academy under any name, nor Dalton with the Academy at Warrington. In 1925 Cole described Manchester Academy⁴ as the "Unitarian New College" whose Principal he called Dr. Baines. An American writer in 1933, referring to the first Academy building at Warrington, said:⁵ "Much sentiment became attached to it since it is the original home of the first Unitarian College, which still exists in Manchester College."

Here be it said that for the adjective "Unitarian" applied to Manchester Academy or College, there is no justification either in its principles or its history. It is and has always been a free collegiate institution of higher education, theological in the main only since 1853, and neither in the eighteenth nor in the twentieth century have all its teachers or students professed Unitarianism of any type, though it has been supported by Unitarians, and, since 1853, most, but not all, of its *alumni* have entered the Unitarian ministry. Its unsectarian character has been authoritatively decided more than once in its history. It is not, and never has been, affiliated to any organized Church, Union, or Assembly, such as the British and Foreign Unitarian Association or the General Assembly of Unitarian and Free Christian Churches.

Quite recently (1941), Mr. Kenneth Lindsay, briefly summarizing "the story of Warrington Academy", said:⁶ "The Academy continued at Manchester for fifteen years, at York for thirty years, back again to

¹ *The Honorary Medical Staff of Manchester Infirmary*, p. 93.

² *Johnson's England*, ed. A. S. Turberville, art. "Town-Life in the Provinces," i, 210.

³ *Ibid.*, art. "Education", ii, 222.

⁴ *Robert Owen*, p. 66.

⁵ John F. Fulton, *Ut supra*, p. 37.

⁶ *English Education*, p. 14. For the correct periods, see p. 217.

Manchester and thence to London in the days of Dr. Martineau, and finally found its home in Oxford in 1889 as Manchester College."

Unfortunately even Unitarians have so misrepresented the relation of the two academies at Warrington and Manchester as to suggest that they were not really separate and independent institutions.

As early as 1855, in a Memoir of Richard Astley, we read: "He was sent to the Academy, in which his father had received his education, not then at Warrington but at York, where it had been removed (from Manchester)". The writer, an *alumnus* of Manchester College, is obviously reporting incidentally an accepted tradition that Warrington Academy was a migratory institution that went to Manchester, then to York, Manchester again, and in 1855 had been a couple of years in London. Forty years later, another Unitarian, sketching the life of Thomas Percival,¹ says he "aided in the removal to Manchester of the Warrington Academy".

That is not how Dr. Barnes, first principal tutor of Manchester Academy, regarded Warrington. In his "Discourse at the Commencement of Manchester Academy," he spoke of the "unfeigned regret" with which his hearers "had seen the Academy at Warrington suspended, and at length finally dissolved".

Of late, the attempt has more commonly been made to trace the ancestry of Manchester College back to Frankland's academy at Rathmell (1669-98), a hamlet in the West Riding of Yorkshire, by means of a line of academies in which Warrington is an essential link.

In a sermon at the 150th Anniversary of Manchester College, June, 1936, the preacher said: "The history of this College exhibits greatness on a small scale. . . . As we follow it from Rathmell to Warrington, from Warrington to its first definite foundation 150 years ago in Manchester . . . our pride, etc. . . ." What precisely is meant by "the first definite foundation" in 1786 of a College whose history begins in 1669 is not clear, but the underlying assumption is plain, and has a history of its own. Again, the present Principal, in October, 1938, spoke of the College's "first beginnings in the little Rathmell Academy in the seventeenth century". Last of all, Dr. L. P. Jacks, a member of the College staff for thirty-eight years and Principal from 1915 to 1931, writes in *Confessions of an Octogenarian*, 1942: "The origin of the College can be traced to one of the numerous nonconformist Academies. . . . The home of the original was a small stone cottage at Rathmell. . . . In its early history it was neither more nor less heretical than any other nonconformist academy, but having a non-dogmatic foundation, *its tendency from the first has been to attract, both as teachers and students, those who were becoming dissatisfied with the official creeds, and were moving in the direction of Unitarianism.*" The italics mark the extent of the pious myth which still prevails as to the origin and history of the College.

¹ Albert Nicholson, art. in *D.N.B.*

This theory of origin, so far as it relates to Warrington, seems to find some support in the name "Warrington" (with dates) inscribed on a panel in the College chapel, followed by the names and dates on adjoining panels of "Manchester", "York", "Manchester", "London", and "Oxford"; for the first four of these five names are those of towns where, during the periods given, Manchester College had its seat from 1786, the year when it was founded in Manchester. Certainly, the name "Warrington" in the first panel at least enabled the architect to fill up all the six panels in the beautiful screen at the entrance to the chapel.

The tradition of an integral and essential connection of Manchester College with Rathmell dates back only a little over half a century. It was apparently first given currency by Gordon in a speech at Manchester on the occasion of the Centennial of the College. He then said the foundation of the Manchester Academy in 1786 "was rather the reconstruction of an existing organization than the creation of a new life", and straightway proceeded to speak of the opening of Rathmell. Later, he named this academy "the Northern Academy", and identified it with the first Manchester academy of 1699-1712.

James Clegg, a Rathmell student, did not. In his Diary he records (1699) the death of Frankland, adding: "Mr. Chorlton was desired to take charge of the academy, but declined it. Afterwards others were proposed, but none were fully agreed upon, and the young men began to drop away, and so that academy fell."

Chorlton, a native of Salford and not long married, preferred to stay at Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, and to set up an academy in that town, rather than to take charge of Rathmell. Clegg tells how he and a few others from Rathmell joined his academy.

Gordon, identifying one academy with another, states that after the Manchester Academy was closed, "It went to Whitehaven (1708-29), then Kendal (1733-52), followed by Warrington (1757-86), and finally to Manchester". "The lineal succession is perfect. It is not only one Academy after another, but is Academy out of Academy." The last words refer to the fact that a pupil of one academy became teacher in the next.

In his article on Richard Frankland (1889)¹ Gordon is even more explicit. Of Rathmell he said: "The institution has continued with few interruptions to the present day. It is now Manchester College."

This view of the relation of Manchester College with Rathmell seems to have been officially accepted by the College authorities. In *Proceedings and Addresses* on the occasion of the opening of the College buildings in Oxford, October, 1893, published 1894, an Appendix gives what is called "The Ancestry of Manchester College," under three heads: first "The Northern Academy", including under this, Rathmell, White-

¹ D.N.B.

haven-Bolton, and Kendal; then "The Warrington Academy", and finally "Manchester New College".¹ One of the addresses of congratulation printed is from "the old Nonconformist Congregation in Warrington", which says *inter alia*: "To us it is not without interest to remember that it is through the Warrington Academy that you trace your proud descent from the first Pioneers of Nonconformist Education."

Gordon's last allusion to this notion was given in an address at Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, 20 May, 1922, when he incidentally observed: "Chorlton transferred the Northern Academy from Rathmell to Manchester; Thomas Dixon carried it on at Bolton."

Alexander Gordon for more than half a century was the most distinguished nonconformist historian in this country. Dr. Albert Peel once described him² as "not only the Nestor of Nonconformist historians, he is the Nonconformist Lord Acton . . . in every century since the sixteenth he seems equally at home". But *humanum est errare*. In his theory of the origin of Manchester College, as in his attribution of the foundation of the Widows' Fund to Joseph Priestley, Gordon was demonstrably wrong.

It will be seen from the dates already given that there were not only breaks between one academy and another, but also that Whitehaven-Bolton was established before Chorlton's academy in Manchester was closed. Apart from the breaks, when plainly no "Northern Academy" existed, this "lineal succession" does not prove "an existing organization" from 1669 to 1786. For that there is no shred of evidence. The most that can be said is that the felt need for an academy in the North led individual ministers, with encouragement from neighbouring ministers and some financial support from the Presbyterian Fund, not given lavishly nor invariably from the first, to establish academies in the towns where they exercised their ministry. The several academies were not controlled by any central body, did not bequeath, one to another, any material effects, library or apparatus, and, in short, there was no outward or visible sign of their connection or association, other than the personal one named. The name "Northern Academy" represents little more than a pious fiction.

Again, the link supposedly provided by Warrington is peculiarly weak. It was, as has been shown, different in constitution, aims, and ideals from all its predecessors. Moreover, though John Taylor had been a pupil at Whitehaven, he afterwards spent three years at Findern, and did not go to Warrington until he had been in the ministry for more than forty years. Warrington Academy, indeed, owed comparatively little to Taylor, who alone of its tutors embodied in his character and training

¹ For the story of these academies, see *Education Under the Test Acts* (1931), by the writer.

² *Congregational Quarterly*, April, 1923.

the traditions of the private academies, to the exclusion of other influences and predilections.

One old student of Manchester College¹ found the way back from Warrington to Rathmell directly through Kendal, in the person of Seddon, who had been trained there, thus "linking Warrington with those who had gone before". So it was, it is said, that from Frankland "the torch of learning was kept alight, passing down in regular succession from master to pupil". But Seddon did not become a tutor at Warrington until ten years after its foundation, and always claimed for the Academy an independent position and a character differing materially from that of the earlier academies.

If we have regard only to "apostolic succession", then Congregationals may claim with better right for their London college that "its ancestry can be clearly traced to Rathmell". In this line, after Rathmell comes immediately Attercliffe (1690-1734), whose first tutor, Timothy Jollie, had been a pupil under Frankland; then Kibworth (1715-25), whose tutor, John Jennings, was at Attercliffe; Northampton (1729-51) under Philip Doddridge, a Kibworth student, followed in succession without a break by Daventry, Northampton (2), Wymondley, and the London colleges. This line is more complete and less broken than that said to connect Manchester College with Rathmell, and, of course, does not include Warrington.

Gordon, it is true, admitted that Attercliffe was "very closely connected with Rathmell", but added: "It is not in our list and we do not want it there". He then claimed for Manchester College "the inheritance of the pure white light". Referring to Rathmell, he said that "Frankland claimed for all who went to him the liberty of a broad platform". By this can be meant only that he admitted students of different denominations. It is undeniable. It does not mean that Rathmell, like Warrington and Manchester College, stood for something beyond orthodoxy of doctrine, and that, in the words of Dr. Jacks, in a College supposedly originally at Rathmell, the "tendency from the first has been to attract, both as teachers and students, those dissatisfied with the official creeds, who were often moving in the direction of Unitarianism". The emergence of heterodoxy in their academies probably never entered the heads of Frankland or Chorlton. The theory that their principle of non-subscription to doctrine implies their prevision of possible developments of doctrine is comparable to what Gordon denounced as "The Myth of the Open Trust", according to which the founders of the first dissenting congregations consciously left room for such development, when, in fact, for them, the possibility of comprehension in the Church was not excluded, and the orthodoxy of their flocks seemed secured by ministerial sub-

¹ W. H. Drummond, Address given at Warrington and Oxford, in *The Liverpool Unitarian Annual*, pp. 52 ff. (1894).

scription and the licensing of meeting-houses by the civil or ecclesiastical authorities.

Frankland's "broad platform" implied, not toleration of different schemes of doctrine, but of different schemes of ecclesiastical discipline. As Gordon himself said in 1902,¹ "While the Academy was nonconformist, its *alumni* were not asked to commit themselves, either actually or implicitly, to the nonconformist position. Its *raison d'être* lay in the fact that the older Universities were not open to Conformists and to Non-conformists alike. It would have been contradictory to its very principle of existence had it been closed to either party."

In doctrine, Frankland's Congregational and Presbyterian students were almost certainly Calvinists, and probably also the relatively few episcopalians who came under his charge. His text-books in theology:—Wollebius, Ames (*Medulla* and *Christianæ Catechesis*) suggest that he taught Calvinism. When James Clegg, after Frankland's death, migrated from Rathmell to Chorlton's academy in Manchester, he says he "first met with the works of Episcopius, Socinus, Crellius, etc.", in the Library of Chetham's Hospital, which proves that they were not in Frankland's library. Judged by his pupils, Frankland may have inculcated openness of mind, though, as James Owen indicated in one of his tracts, they generally determined for Calvin against Arminius. The only product of his pen was a "Reply" (1697) to a plea for moderation towards disbelievers in the Trinity, a plea published anonymously and afterwards included in the second volume of the old Unitarian Tracts.

If, then, the connection of Manchester College with its "forerunners" is one of "real inner continuity", Rathmell cannot be included in the "apostolical succession", and those which are should surely include Taunton, Exeter, Findern, and other liberal academies.

Warrington Academy, except in that tendency towards freedom in theology, has no essential connection even with the liberal private academies that preceded it. What was said in 1914² may be reaffirmed with even greater confidence: "Manchester College claims descent not only from Chorlton's Academy but also from Frankland's Academy at Rathmell. For this claim there is no justification whatever. Even if it be allowable (and it is not) to group together Rathmell, Chorlton's, Whitehaven, Bolton and Kendal as the Northern Academy, it is not possible to regard Warrington, which was an entirely new foundation, as descended from these earlier academies."

With Manchester College, Warrington's relations were both intimate and unique. A reporter of the last closing proceedings of the College in Manchester in 1853, before its removal to London, observed:³ "The

¹ *Early Education and Nonconformity*, p. 7.

² Irene Parker, *Dissenting Academies in England*, p. 121.

³ *Christian Reformer*, p. 467.

venerable William Turner was in the room, and represented, as the sole survivor, the Warrington Academy, out of which Manchester College may be said to have sprung."

The College owed its foundation (22 February, 1786) in the main to Dr. Percival, an old Warrington student and trustee. He and his co-adjutors doubtless intended by their action to compel the trustees of Warrington Academy to reach a decision as to the Academy, and dissolve it. This was the more imperative as there was another claimant to the effects of Warrington in Hackney College, established nearly a month earlier.

It was known, too, that some at least of the Warrington trustees favoured the metropolitan academy rather than that to be established in Manchester. John Carill Worsley, a former President of Warrington Academy, to whom Dr. Enfield dedicated his *Speaker*, writing thirteen days after the meeting when Manchester Academy was founded, described it in some detail. He declared that "Dr. Percival who was in the chair, was quite infatuated with his scheme", which "has the appearance of not being properly digested, but brought forward hastily with a view of securing what is left at Warrington". Worsley then expressed his goodwill towards the "Institution near London", and recommended his correspondent "to look into the Books belonging to Warrington Academy, which would be very useful in case things should be carried to extremities".

Before this date, had the attempt to unite Warrington with Daventry proved successful, both the Warrington library and apparatus would now be in possession of the Independent college in London.

It is clear that the resolution carried when Warrington Academy was dissolved, giving the Library to Manchester and the apparatus to Hackney, was in the nature of a compromise. In view of the sad and speedy end of Hackney College, it was well that the books, numbering 4,000 volumes, went to Manchester. They are now housed in a noble library, where the glorious Warrington Window fitly celebrates the close connection of Manchester College with the Warrington Academy.

"Of the fifty-four Warrington Trustees who voted dissolution", says Mr. V. D. Davis,¹ "seventeen had been among those who signed the invitation to Barnes and Harrison to undertake the new work, and twelve of them were members of the new Committee".

The appointment of Barnes and Harrison is the only instance of two men, formerly pupils of the same academy, appointed tutors of another academy. Hence, as neither of them had studied elsewhere, the only academical influence at work in Manchester Academy during the first years was that of Warrington. As it happened, that influence remained predominant until the Academy left Manchester for York in 1803.

Its aims were the same, viz., "the provision of a full and systematic

¹ *History of Manchester College*, p. 54.

course of education for students for the ministry, and preparatory instruction for the other learned professions as well as for civil and commercial life", and it was "open to young men of every religious denomination".

In its principles, courses of instruction, and ideals, Manchester Academy was wholly under the influence of Warrington. The same may be said of its theology, which was Arian, not Socinian, like its only rival, Hackney College, under Thomas Belsham.

Amongst the advantages which Manchester offered, according to the prospectus of the Academy, was its "well-regulated police and the serious attention of the townsfolk to the duties of public worship." The mention of the officers of the Law was probably intended to conciliate and assure prospective subscribers who recalled the disorderly conduct of the students at Warrington, which had assisted so materially to shorten the life of their *Alma Mater*. A third advantage enumerated was that Manchester "contains one of the best public libraries in the kingdom, to which access may be had at stated times".¹ Alas, the students did not cultivate the serious demeanour of the townsmen, and the presence of a good police force did not prove so helpful as was anticipated, and in 1798 Dr. Barnes resigned in despair of preserving anything like discipline in the Academy. Barnes left strict instructions in his will that all his manuscripts and diaries should be burnt unread. A volume of manuscript lectures on "Universal Grammar" by Ralph Harrison, dated 1787-8, written in shorthand, reveals dependence on Priestley's lectures at Warrington. Illustrations from literature are numerous; the Greek is without accents or breathings, but the Hebrew is pointed.

Barnes was succeeded by George Walker, F.R.S., formerly mathematical tutor at Warrington, 1772-4. He was too advanced in years (62) to grapple successfully with the situation, and with the heavy work which had fallen to him in consequence of tutorial changes following upon the decline of the Academy. He described his labours at this period as "fitter for Hercules in his youth than for an old man . . . twice a day for two hours at least as theological tutor . . . the remainder of the day, the duties of classical and mathematical tutor. . . . To all this is to be added attention to exercises, compositions, and to domestic regularity and morals."²

The most famous tutor (1794-1800) was John Dalton, a Quaker; one was a clerk in Holy orders. Many of its students were men who attained distinction in commerce and science.

An admirable history of the College was published in 1932. In the closing years of the eighteenth century it seemed as though that history might be even briefer than Warrington's. From 1786 to 1798 when Dr. Barnes resigned, there were 137 students, of whom only twenty were

¹ Chetham's Hospital Library.

² G. Walker, *Essays with Life of Author*, i, p. ccvi.

divinity students and four of these prepared for the Church of England. The income averaged between £220 and £250, never reached £300 and was occasionally below £200. Discipline had been extremely difficult to maintain. In 1803, after its life of 17 years, when several efforts to secure a successor to George Walker had failed, Dr. Percival, founder and late President of the Academy, was in favour of abandoning the institution, and transferring its effects to Glasgow University. Happily, wiser counsels prevailed. The Academy migrated to York, secured the services of Charles Wellbeloved and other able tutors, entered upon a period of great usefulness, and attracted a number of gifted students.

There were other living links between Warrington Academy and Manchester College besides the first tutors. The first two Presidents were Warrington men, Thomas Percival, 1793-1800, and Samuel Shore, 1808-13. Probably the most active and certainly the most enduring link was William Turner. He declined the office of Tutor in Divinity in 1798, when Thomas Barnes resigned, was appointed Visitor to the College in 1808 and continued to act in that capacity until 1859. One of the York students, who often listened to Turner's visitorial addresses, was James Martineau, who was Principal of the College, 1869-85, when it was in London.

At the Centennial of the institution in 1886, he drew upon his knowledge of Warrington Academy through acquaintance with its *alumni*, though omitting mention of William Turner, and its poetess, both of whom he had known. "Some of the most delightful friendships of my early life", he said, "were with a few of the *alumni* of the Warrington Academy." He then named Dr. William Bruce, of Belfast, Archibald Hamilton Rowan, in Dublin, and his own senior in the ministry there, Philip Taylor, grandson of the first Warrington Divinity Tutor. "Some visible relics of those times", he continued, "I still reverently preserve, gifts or bequests of Mr. Philip Taylor; one, a Concordance, which was the author's own personal possession; the other, an electrical machine of Dr. Priestley's, one of the instruments employed in his discoveries.¹ So are the generations linked together; and as I look on these emblems of their continuous life and undying pursuit of intellectual and spiritual light, I thank God for an ancestry inspired by trusts so deep and charity so large."

IV. SCHOOLS

"The ministers of the older Dissent", said Alexander Gordon,² "not merely in some cases but as a general rule were the educators in their several neighbourhoods."

¹ The Concordance is now in the Unitarian College, Manchester, and the electrical machine at Manchester College, Oxford.

² *Addresses, Biographical and Historical*, p. 5.

There were three chief reasons for this. It was necessary to give what was often called "grammar learning" to youths who were being prepared to enter the academies, and so to continue the succession of nonconformist ministers. The older Grammar Schools were in the hands of the clergy of the Established Church, and therefore closed to all boys whose parents scrupled about exposing them to the influence of Anglican doctrine. Last, but not least, the salaries of dissenting ministers were so meagre as to compel them to supplement their income in almost the only way open to them, namely, by keeping school. The stipends of ministers, too, were often irregular and varied in amount. At Chesterfield in 1737 the salary varied from £35 to £40, in 1756 it was £50, and Thomas Astley, a Warrington student appointed in 1775, had £80. Even when salaries reached so much as £90 a year, with a manse in addition—the size of which sometimes suggested the need of turning its accommodation to account—ministers were provided with a motive, and the lack of suitable secondary schools gave them an opportunity, to establish and maintain schools in most towns and in many villages throughout the country.

A Report issued by the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education in 1923 makes it clear that the ancient Grammar Schools, "by their persistent adherence" to a narrow tradition "to a great extent missed the real advantages of the humanistic renaissance as represented by scholars like Erasmus. When Protestant Nonconformists were allowed to follow the teaching profession, a great number of new private schools, partly modelled on the older academies, were established, especially in the towns, to meet the needs of merchants and manufacturers who demanded a more practical education than that provided in the endowed Schools. These private schools had many faults and weaknesses, but they were more receptive of new ideas and more ready to experiment than the old foundations, and subsequent reforms in the curriculum can be traced largely to their influence."

Thus Samuel Catlow, a Daventry student, who conducted a successful boarding school at Mansfield from 1783 to 1819, in a sermon "On Education", 1789, said: "In a thousand instances, the interests of commerce have been essentially promoted by the labours of philosophers, and tho' some of highly-gifted, but uninstructed genius, have astonished the world, by their ready application of mechanical, and other philosophical powers, to the purposes of commerce . . . yet the probability of important discoveries, in this respect, lies in the scale of philosophical instruction, and of consequence, demonstrates the importance of attaching the growing reason to the pursuits of science." In his school, Catlow taught pupils from ten to twelve "English, Writing, Commercial Accounts, Classics, and French". To these subjects elder scholars added, "Composition, Geography, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Moral and Religious Principles", whilst those "designed for the pulpit were also taught

Hebrew". There were "conveniences for Dancing, Military Exercises, and Cold Bathing". Military Exercises are to be understood in the light of the exigencies of the Napoleonic War as corresponding to the activities of the modern cadet corps.

Such schools as these were by no means the exclusive monopoly of the so-called Presbyterians, the ancestors of the modern Unitarians. Independents, Friends, and Baptists had their schools, some of which enjoyed more than a local reputation. Nevertheless, as a minister born in 1785 proudly said: "It was one of the incidental blessings for which our country ought to thank the old Presbyterians and their ministers that, with the exception of the old Grammar Schools, the private schools of these ministers were almost the only places of instruction for the children of the middle and upper classes, and it was by them the chief improvements in education were successively made. The beneficed clergy of that day seldom devoted themselves to this task, and ministers of other denominations were rarely competent to it. It was the Presbyterian ministers who were in the main the educators of our gentry and professional and commercial classes in those days."

Even when some deduction has been made for the writer's partiality as one of the teachers, the story of the schools kept by Presbyterian divines affords ample justification for his statement, and, in particular, for the latter part of it. What the academies did in the realm of university scholarship as compared with the ancient seats of learning was effected in secondary education by the Presbyterian schools. "By them the stream of learning and the currents of thinking were kept in motion."¹

Many tutors in academies had previously kept school, and, though naturally fewer in number, tutors who returned to the ministry took in pupils. To mention only men connected with Warrington Academy, Taylor had taught a few boys, as did Seddon, whilst Aikin, Holt, and Priestley had been successful schoolmasters.

The appeal of these schools extended far beyond the limits of the denomination to which the teachers belonged, and one of the problems which still awaits a satisfactory solution by modern educationists seems to have been solved as early as the eighteenth century. Thus the Presbyterian minister, already quoted, speaking of his school in the West of England, said: "I had children of all religious denominations, including Catholics, Quakers, and Jews, and never experienced any religious difficulty. My school was nonsectarian—indeed non-theological and non-doctrinal—and would by some be designated non-religious, for I did not even use the Scriptures in the school." Clearly it was only on the foundation of unsectarianism, the principle of academies like Warrington, that schools could be conducted by Unitarian ministers.

Schools kept by Warrington students were not numerous, since the

¹ Alex. Gordon.

proportion of divinity students to the rest in the Academy was not high, but these schools had a character and quality which may be traced to the influence of the Academy, and they attracted pupils who afterwards attained some degree of eminence in commerce and the professions.

Thomas Astley (1738-1817) belonged to an old family which had given many sons to the Presbyterian ministry. His father (1697-1756) had been minister at Whitehaven, and his grandfather on the spindle side had been ordained in 1710, whilst relatives on both sides, including nonconformist ministers, went back to the Commonwealth period. He studied at Daventry under Dr. Caleb Ashworth for two years (1756-8), and then, on the recommendation of Dr. George Benson, entered Warrington Academy, being the first student for the ministry to do so. At Warrington he spent three years, and treasured to the end of his life several manuscript volumes of lectures by Taylor, Aikin, and Holt. He was one of four men, including Priestley, then tutor in the Academy, who were ordained at the Provincial Meeting of Ministers held at Warrington, 18 May, 1762. After a brief ministry at Congleton and a longer one at Preston, he settled at Chesterfield in 1773, where he laboured for forty years. Here in 1775 he opened a boarding school. Five years later, the increasing number of his pupils led to his removal to Dronfield, five miles from his chapel. In 1784 he removed to Chesterfield to live, and in 1800 gave up his school. Astley was an efficient and scholarly teacher, and in 1779 declined the invitation of the Trustees of Warrington Academy, strongly supported by Dr. Aikin and Dr. Enfield, to become classical tutor at the Academy. Robert Wallace, Principal at Manchester College 1840-6, paid a fine tribute to Astley's "attainments as a scholar". Amongst his pupils was his son Richard, who proceeded to Manchester College, York. He married a descendent of Oliver Heywood, and placed in Northgate End Chapel, Halifax, of which he was minister, a memorial to him with a noble Latin inscription.

Ralph Harrison, an old Warrington student and a descendant of an ejected minister, whilst minister at Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, kept school from 1774 to 1786, when he became classical tutor at the Manchester Academy, then opened. His publications whilst a schoolmaster included *Institutes of English Grammar* (1777), and *An Introduction to the Study of Geography* with a set of blank maps. The latter was said to be "the first initiatory work to which a blank atlas without references was attached". Harrison was a skilful musician, and composed several hymn tunes, one of which called "Warrington" after his *alma mater* has long been popular. It first appeared in Harrison's *Sacred Harmony*, and he attended at Windsor Castle by command of George III, and there presented a copy of the *Harmony* to the King.

Dr. Charles Henry, F.R.S., in the Memoir of his father, William Henry, M.D., a Copley Medallist and a former pupil at the school, says: "Har-

riſon's repute as a teacher of the ancient languages was ſo widely ſpread as to draw to Manchester ſons of perſons of rank at a diſtance, and, among others, thoſe of the Marquis of Waterford, attended by their accompliſhed tutor, M. de Polier.¹ The three children were Henry, who ſucceeded to his father's title, John George de la Poer, D.D., Archbiſhop of Armagh, and Major-General George Thomas de la Poer.

At Palgrave, Suffolk, Rochemont Barbauld, an *alumnus* of Warrington, conducted a ſchool from 1774 to 1785. He was aſſiſted by his gifted wife, daughter of John Aikin, D.D., the Warrington tutor. Though not, of course, a ſtudent at the Academy, ſhe owed her education to her father, and many of her chief intereſts in life to her intimate aſſociation with the ſtaff and ſtudents of the inſtitution.

Dr. Johnson ſpoke ſlightly of Mrs. Barbauld as "an inſtance of early cultivation", which terminated "in marrying a little Presbyterian parſon, who kept an infant boarding-ſchool, ſo that all her employment was 'to ſuckle fools, and chronicle ſmall beer'. She tells the children, 'This is a cat, and that is a dog, with four legs, and a tail; ſee there! you are much better than a cat or dog, for you can ſpeak.'" It is hardly a judicial eſtimate of the ſchool, its miſtreſs or its pupils. In point of fact, infants formed but a ſmall proportion of the pupils, nor was Mrs. Barbauld excluſively concerned with them.

The ſchool opened with eight pupils, including William Taylor, of Norwich, afterwards well known as a tranſlator from the German, and Frank Sayers, M.D., poet and author of *The Dramatic Sketches of Northern Mythology* (1790). Next year there were "Twenty-ſeven ſcholars and two more beſpoke places at midſummer", and an aſſiſtant, who had a gift for making verſe, was engaged. Sayers acknowledged his great indebtedneſs to Mrs. Barbauld in Engliſh compoſition. "On Wedneſdays and Saturdays the boys were called in ſeparate claſſes to her apartments. She read them a fable or ſtory or moral eſſay, and then ſent them back into the ſchoolroom to write it out in their own words, each exerciſe being then ſeparately corrected by her".² The department of Geography was alſo undertaken by her, and ſhe kept all the accounts of the ſchool. The infants' claſs was entirely in her charge. Other ſubjects than thoſe named were taken by her huſband. Thomas Denman, afterwards Lord Chief Juſtice was entruſted to Mrs Barbauld before he was four years old, and Sir William Gell, archæologiſt and traveller, was another of her young pupils. It was for the benefit of this claſs that her *Hymns in Proſe for Children* was written. The ſchool, which increaſed in numbers year by year, admitted both day-boys and boarders, and many ſons of noble families, including Lord Daer, and three of his

¹ Dr. T. Percival contributed to the *Memoirs of the Manchester Literary and Philoſophical Society* a Tribute to the Memory of Charles de Polier (1753-82)

² *Works of A. L. Barbauld, Memoir*, i, p. xxvi.

brothers, including the Earl of Selkirk, two sons of Lord Templeton, Lord More Aghrin, and the Hon. Augustus Phipps.

A public examination was held at the close of the winter term, and at the end of the summer term a play was presented by the senior pupils under the superintendence of Mrs. Barbauld—in 1775 the play was the first part of *King Henry IV*, two years later, *The Tempest*.

In 1785 the school was taken over by Nathaniel Phillips, who coached students of the universities during vacations.

At Bristol a school established in 1736 by William Foot, a student of Taunton Academy, was taken over in 1771 by John Prior Estlin, an old Warringtonian. He was minister of Lewins Mead Chapel (1770–1817), a friend of Coleridge, Southey, and Robert Hall, and a voluminous writer. Southey esteemed him “a good scholar and an excellent man. Had I continued at the school, he would have grounded me out and taken pleasure in bestowing careful culture where it would not have been lost”.¹ Two volumes of Estlin’s *Lectures on Moral Philosophy*, delivered to his pupils, were published posthumously in 1818. Amongst his scholars were many who attained distinction in various walks of life, in the universities and the learned professions. These included Richard Bright, F.R.S., Physician-extraordinary to Queen Victoria in 1837; Sir Henry Holland, Physician-in-Ordinary to Prince Albert and Queen Victoria; John Cam Hobhouse (Baron Broughton of Broughton de Gyfford), the friend of Byron, Sir James Stephen, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and John Bishop Estlin, his own son, a famous surgeon in his day. Richard Bright was the son of a Warrington student; Sir Henry Holland, a cousin of Mrs. Gaskell, before entering the school had spent four years under William Turner, of Newcastle, a distinguished *alumnus* of Warrington. For many years Estlin’s old pupils held an annual meeting on his birthday (April 9th), and at one of them (1807) they presented him with the diploma of LL.D. which they had procured without his knowledge from Glasgow University. On his seventieth birthday he announced his intention of discontinuing the school. He resigned his ministerial charge three months later, and died on the 20th of August in the same year. Estlin’s school, which was a large one, enjoyed a high repute.

Pendlebury Houghton (1740–1822), an old student of Warrington and for a time assistant classical tutor there, became in 1787 colleague of Dr. William Enfield, the former Warrington tutor, in the ministry of the Octagon Chapel, Norwich. Thereupon he united with his father, John Houghton, an old Northampton student, in establishing a classical school. Amongst pupils at the school were R. H. Gurney, afterwards M.P. for Norwich; Marsham Elwin, for twenty years Chairman of the Norfolk Quarter Sessions; W. F. Drake, Minor Canon of Norwich Cathedral; Henry Cooper, a leading barrister in the county; J. Robberds,

¹ *Life and Correspondence of R. Southey*, p. 46.

author of the *Life of William Taylor of Norwich*, and other works. In 1797, on the death of Enfield, Pendlebury Houghton became the sole minister of the Octagon Chapel. His father died in 1800 and the school was discontinued. It was noted alike for scholarship and discipline.

At Belfast, William Bruce (1757-1841) followed Dr. James Crombie as minister of the First Presbyterian Church in 1790, and converted what had been an academy of an ambitious character into a high-class secondary school. Bruce was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and had also spent one year at Glasgow University and two years at Warrington Academy. He conducted the school for thirty-two years, and is said to have "taught well, and ruled firmly, not forgetting the cane". In April, 1792, when the revolutionary spirit, which had permeated more than one of the liberal academies, broke out in the school, the scholars "seized the mathematical room, renamed it 'Liberty Hall', stocked it with provisions, arms, and ammunition, and attempted to dictate terms to the principal and his patron. When the vicar of the parish arrived and demanded their surrender, they threatened to 'put a ball in his wig'." Eventually they were got under control by Bruce, and the famous "barring out", as it was called, came to an end.

From 1802 on Bruce delivered courses of lectures on History, Belles-Lettres, and Moral Philosophy, but his chief rôle was that of school-master. One of his assistants for three years was Thomas Blain, a Glasgow graduate, who became Headmaster of the Royal Belfast Academical Institution (founded in 1810) from 1845 to 1861. Another was James Armstrong, who later graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, studied at Edinburgh, and received the degree of D.D. from Geneva University. Bruce had both day-boys and boarders, the latter being under the care of his excellent wife. He was one of the founders of the Belfast Literary Society (1801), which frequently met under the roof of his school.

Many other Warrington pupils besides those named were in charge of schools, of which little is known in detail. Thus James Matthew Beynon, a divinity student at Warrington, owed his appointment to the congregation at Yarmouth to Dr. Aikin's recommendation. From 1784 for thirty-two years he conducted a school, "with great credit", it is said, "to himself and his pupils". His ministry at Yarmouth covered a period of fifty-eight years.

By means of their schools the old students of the Academy transmitted to another generation something of the principles, methods, and standards which had characterized the teaching in their *alma mater*.

The tale is told. The history of Warrington Academy is that of a small, short-lived eighteenth-century nonconformist seminary of learning, open to all, struggling to establish principles, methods, and ideals, now largely accepted, together with something resembling a modern university

education in the midst of a society hostile, when not completely indifferent, to its efforts.

During its brief life the Academy attracted to Warrington a circle of scholars and men of letters. The publications of tutors and pupils enjoyed a wide circulation at home and abroad, and have their place in the history of science and literature. To-day there is a general acknowledgment of the real worth of the training for commerce and the professions given at Warrington. Its influence may be seen in institutions founded by its tutors and pupils, and in the contribution made to tolerance and liberty as essential to university education.

Addendum to l. 19, p. 45.

Edward Harwood said, 10 March 1760, that Taylor's troubles arose from his attacks upon Hutcheson.

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REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE

97th, 98th, 99th, and 100th Years.

THE Council had the honour to present their Report for the years ending 28th February, 1943, as follows :—

Since the last Report was issued (for 1939-40) three more volumes have been issued to subscribers. *A History of the Parish of Tunstall*, by the late Colonel W. H. Chippindall (104); *A Middlewich Chartulary*, edited by Mrs. Joan Varley, Part I (105); and *A descriptive list of the printed maps of Cheshire, 1577-1900* (106).

The first of these, which deals with a parish in the north part of Lonsdale, is a study of the four townships of Cantsfield, Tunstall, Burrow-with-Burrow and Leck. The volume is well illustrated and has pedigrees which are of interest to northern genealogists.

The second has been published in conjunction with the Liverpool School of Local History and Records. It is taken from a manuscript compiled by William Vernon, the seventeenth-century antiquary and student of Cheshire history, who was a friend of Dugdale, encouraged by him in elucidating the descents of county families and the topography of their families. The borough of Middlewich was one of the three ancient Cheshire salt-making towns and the charters and materials collected by Vernon throw much light both on the life of the burgesses of the town, and upon early salt-making in Cheshire.

Mr. Whitaker's volume on the printed maps of Cheshire, is on similar lines to his book on Lancashire maps, and has already aroused considerable interest among Cheshire Local Authorities.

In order to mark the occasion of the centenary year (1943-4) the Society proposes to issue two volumes during the year, thus departing from its war-time practice of publishing one annual volume. The first of these will be Dr. H. McLachlan's *Warrington Academy*; the other will be the second volume of *A Middlewich Chartulary*, to be edited, owing to Mrs. Varley's preoccupation with war work, by Professor Tait. This volume will again be a joint publication with the Liverpool School of Local History and Records. The Society has other work in hand for ensuing years. Fortunately the war has not diminished the enthusiasm and the vigour of its contributors.

During the past three years the Society has had to mourn the loss of two members of its Council: Colonel Chippindall (who had just been invited to join), the veteran and indefatigable local historian, and Professor Edward Fiddes, of Manchester University. The following members have retired from the Council: Messrs.

E. Axon and H. Hornyold-Strickland. Four new members have been elected: Mrs. Margaret Sharp, The Rev. Canon T. C. Porteus, Major A. T. R. Houghton, and Lt.-Col. H. Parkinson of Hornby Castle.

The membership of the Society at the end of February last comprised 70 individual members and 112 libraries.

Note.:—At the 100th anniversary meeting, held by courtesy of the Governors of the John Rylands Library in the library's premises, Deansgate, Manchester, the President alluded to the great part in the conduct and progress of the Society played by Professor James Tait and by the Secretary of the Manchester University Press, Mr. H. M. McKechnie. After the general meeting Professor Tait gave an address upon the history of the Society, which will later be issued to members of the Society.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT FOR THE HUNDREDTH YEAR ENDED 28TH FEBRUARY, 1943.

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<i>Subscriptions received :—</i>		
Year 100. 1942-43	£164	0 0
Arrears	3	0 0
In advance	12	0 0
	179	0 0
<i>Dividend and Interest received :—</i>		
War Loan 3½ per cent.	28	0 0
L.M. & S. Rly. 4 per cent. Pref. Stock	3	0 0
	31	0 0
<i>Grant by Liverpool University towards the cost of Vol. 105</i>	50	0 0
<i>Proceeds of Sale of Books, etc.</i>	5	0 0
	£265	0 0

DETAILS REFERRING TO 100TH YEAR.

<i>Members on Register :—</i>		
Individuals	68	
Libraries	112	
„ Free	2	
	182	

Subscriptions paid and due, Year 100 :—

Paid in advance during 1941/2	£14
Paid during 1942/3	164
In arrears	4
Free	2
	184
Less in respect of deceased members	2
	182

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<i>Balance due to Bank at 28th February, 1942</i>		
<i>Postage, etc.</i>	3	14 5
<i>Audit Fee</i>	2	2 0
<i>Fire and War Risk Insurance</i>	3	11 6
<i>Subscription :—</i>		
British Records Assn.	1	0 0
<i>Balance due by the Bank</i>	226	6 6
	£265	0 0

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PRESENT VALUE.

£800 3½ per cent War Loan	£810 16 1	£840 0 0
£150 L.M. & S. Rly. 4 per cent. Pref. Stock	120 0 0	113 0 0
	£930 16 1	£953 0 0

Audited and found correct,
(Signed) E. A. RADFORD, EDWARDS & Co.,
Chartered Accountants.

Royal Mail House,
76, Cross Street,
Manchester, 2.

25th March, 1943.

Chetham Society

LIST OF MEMBERS

1st MARCH, 1943

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>Castler, Ernest, Laurel Bank, Linden Avenue, Sale.</p> <p>Assheton, Ralph Cockayne, Downham Hall, near Clitheroe.</p> <p>Atkinson, Rev. A. V., Weaverham Vicarage, Northwich.</p> <p>Bellot, Professor H. Hale, 9 Well Walk, London, N.W.3.</p> <p>Bennett, M. J., 23 Manor Road, Romford, Essex.</p> <p>Betham, J. D., Rose Cottage, Sedburgh, Yorks.</p> <p>Brooks, Samuel H., Bank House, Oak Drive, Fallowfield, Manchester.</p> <p>Buckley, G. K., 40 Cambridge Road, Southport.</p> <p>Cantle, A., The Headmaster, Llandrindod Wells County Secondary School, Radnorshire.</p> <p>Clare, Thomas, 17 Highland Road, Runcorn.</p> <p>Cross, The Viscountess, Eccleriggs, Broughton-in-Furness, Lancashire.</p> <p>Daresbury, Right Hon. the Lord, Walton Hall, near Warrington.</p> <p>Derby, Right Hon. the Earl of, Knowsley, Prescot.</p> <p>O'Ewart, Dr. John, 53 Manley Road, Whalley Range, Manchester 16.</p> <p>Dootson, Thomas R., Parkfield, Leigh, Lancs.</p> <p>Eva, Herbert, Purdown, Whaley Bridge.</p> <p>Fielding, W. R., Manor House, Manor Road, Fleetwood.</p> <p>Forbes, Alastair, Whitworth House, Whitworth, near Rochdale.</p> | <p>Forshaw, Thomas, Burtonwood House, Burtonwood, Warrington.</p> <p>Garnett, William J., Quernmore Park, Lancaster.</p> <p>Haworth, A., Ravelstone, Manley-by-Helsby, nr. Warrington.</p> <p>Hewitson, Mrs. Grace H., 31 Canterbury Road, Davyhulme, Cheshire.</p> <p>Higgins, W. F., Broadmead, Broad Lane, Park Road, Hale.</p> <p>Hodgkinson, Archer, Springfield, Broad Lane, Grappenhall, Warrington.</p> <p>Hornbold-Strickland, H., Sizergh Lodge, Kendal.</p> <p>Houghton, A. T. R., 15 Winckley Street, Preston.</p> <p>Howarth, Thomas, Whittington Hall, Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmorland.</p> <p>Howcroft, A. J., 45 Priory Buildings, Union Street, Oldham.</p> <p>Hudleston, Rear-Admiral R., Hutton John, Penrith, Cumberland.</p> <p>Hudson, Rev. H. A., 19 Adelaide Road, Leamington Spa.</p> <p>Hughes, T. Cann, Oakrigg, Scotforth, Lancaster.</p> <p>Inchley, R. H., Williams Deacon's Bank, Ltd., 25 St. Ann Street, Manchester.</p> <p>Irvine, W. Fergusson, Brynllwyn, Corwen, North Wales.</p> |
|--|---|

- Jacob, Professor E. F., The University, Manchester.
- Johnson, Herbert, Garston House, Ogden Road, Bramhall.
- Kenyon, Lord, Gredington, Whitchurch, Salop.
- King, J. H., Williams Deacon's Bank, Ltd., Mosley Street, Manchester, *Hon. Treasurer.*
- Langton, Major Arthur V., 45 Abingdon Court, London, W.8.
- Leatherbarrow, Rev. J. S., St. Mark's Vicarage, Bolton.
- Leech, Dr. E. Bosdin, 16 St John Street, Manchester.
- Lloyd-Jones, Rev. R. W., Byley Rectory, Middlewich.
- Mabbott, H. K., 1 Brazennose Street, Manchester.
- Mawdsley, R. Hargreaves, "Sandy Knowe," Allandale Road, Burnham-on-Sea, Somerset.
- Parker, Captain R. G., Browsholme Hall, near Clitheroe.
- Parkinson, Lt.-Col. H., Hornby Castle, Hornby, nr. Lancaster.
- Porteus, Rev. Canon T. C., St. George's Vicarage, Gillibrand Walks, Chorley, Lancs.
- Powicke, Professor F. M., Oriel College, Oxford.
- Provincial Newspapers Ltd., 127, Fishergate, Preston.
- Rankin, Sir Robert, M.P., Broughton Towers, Broughton-in-Furness, N. Lancs.
- Royden, E. B., Hill Bark, Frankby, Wirral.
- Sharp, Dr. Margaret, 1 Belmont, Ulverston, Lancs.
- Shaw, Dr. R. Cunliffe, 24 Ribblesdale Place, Preston.
- Starkie, Major E. A. Le Gendre, Huntroyde, Padiham.
- Sykes, Colonel Sir Alan J., Bart., South View, Cheadle, Cheshire.
- Tait, Professor James, 28 Hawthorn Lane, Wilmslow, Cheshire.
- Tatton, Robert H. G., Wybunbury Cliffe, Nantwich, Cheshire.
- Thomson, John McArthur, Ardmore, Arthog Road, Hale, Cheshire.
- Tupling, G. H., 16 Alexandra Terrace, Haslingden, Lancs.
- Tyson, Dr. Moses, The University, Manchester.
- Varley, Mrs. W. J., Campway, Bradley Lane, Frodsham, *via* Warrington.
- Wadsworth, A. P., 30 Parkwood Road, Wythenshawe, Manchester.
- Walmsley, James, New Hall, Waddington, by Clitheroe.
- Weld, Francis, 32 Weld Road, Birkdale, Southport.
- Wood, J. Hatton, 5 Iver Court, Queensway, London, W.2.
- Woodcock, Thomas, Newfield, Haslingden, Lancs.
- Worsley-Taylor, F. E., Newton Hall, Newton-in-Bowland, Clitheroe.
- Worsley-Taylor, Sir John, Town Head, Pendleton, near Clitheroe.
- Worsley-Taylor, Lady, Town Head, Pendleton, near Clitheroe.

The Honorary Secretary requests that any change of address may be communicated to him or to the Treasurer.

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 Huntington, Henry E., Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California.
 Hyde Public Library.
 Illinois, University of, Urbana, Ill. (per G. E. Stechert & Co.).
 Iowa State University Library, Iowa, U.S.A. (per G. E. Stechert & Co.).
 Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society, Royal Institution, Colquitt Street, Liverpool.
 Lancashire County Council, Department of Education, 1 Fishergate Hill, Preston.
 Lancashire Independent College, Manchester.
 Lancaster Public Library.
 (Leeds) Old Library.
 Leeds Public Library.
 Leeds University Library.
 Leigh (Lancs.) Public Library
 Liverpool Athenæum.
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 (London) British Museum.
 (London) Dr. Williams' Library, Gordon Square W.C. 1.
 (London) Guildhall Library, E.C. 2.

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